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Friday September 6, 1944
Camp Antelope

For the Spike Camps of
CFS 37, Coleville, Calif.

SOMEWHAT NEW HAS BEEN ADDED: That indoor sport of CFS men of filling out forms and questionnaires gets an added flourish with new supplementary information requested on this new demobilization form which you have just been filling out. Please refer to the new Personnel News Bulletin (P-29) which lists the additional information desired by Selective Service.

All who have already filled out the form, please see that this information is sent in to the personnel secretary who will add it to the forms. Only those who are married are involved in items nos. 1 and 2 (items 7 and 8 on the form), but everyone is concerned in item 3, which is the place to which you wish to have your transportation request read, in case Selective Service decides to assume transportation costs to wherever you wish to settle. (Hawaii???)

Also, please note that the form must be kept up to date, which means that any changes in dependency, births of children, marital status, should be sent in immediately to the personnel secretary for forwarding (the information, not the children). Of course, a change of location to which you wish to be demobilized should be sent in also.

CAMP MEETING: Last Tuesday night the first camp meeting in several months was held at Antelope. Claude Lewis was elected Clerk of the Meeting. Following this, nominations were made for Work Jerk and for Philadelphia Representative. Ballots for these positions will be sent out after October 12, the last date possible to submit nominations. Al Jones will continue to act as Work Jerk until after the election, but he does not wish to continue after that. Emerson Darnell is transferring to Orlando, Fla., so cannot be considered for continuing in the position of Philadelphia Representative.

Nominations so far are: Work Jerk: Dick Faux, Monfort Julian, Gordon Marsh, Tony Randles, Norman Rich, Darwin Solomon, Paul Steward. --- Philadelphia Representative Leo Boucher, Irving Garrison, Al Jones, Vaclav Kline, Gordon Marsh, Tony Randles, Morgan Smadley.

Staff positions: A place will be provided on the work jerk and representative ballot for nominations for those staff positions which are up for periodic review (have completed at least six months). As outlined previously, any new nominees for these positions must be approved by Philadelphia Staff before election is held.

Camp Director: Wes has stated his desire to withdraw from this position by the first of the year. At the camp meeting the feeling of the group was unanimously in favor of requesting Wes to continue. No other nominations were made.

Educational Secretary and Personnel Secretary positions: no nominations for replacement in either of these positions have been forthcoming from the spikes as result of the suggestions for review which have been made through Whispers. No nominations were made by the Camp Meeting, but it was decided that the chance to nominate new men for those jobs should be kept open until after the balloting described above. There was discussion concerning what aspects of these staff jobs were most important from the camp's viewpoint, and it was decided that a questionnaire listing the various functions should be sent out with the camp-govt. ballots, so that those functions most important to each person could be so checked. Also, space will be provided for additional suggestions and comments.

A roster of CFS 37 personnel is being sent to each spike to help in the considerations for any of the positions.

Wednesday
September 13, 1944
Ca. Antelope

Whispers

For the Spike Camps of
CFS 37, Coleville, Calif.

For the benefit of those new men who have been in CFS only a few months who are interested in special service openings, it might make your position clearer to restate the rules regarding when you can transfer. A Selective Service Directive states that no transfer can be made from a camp to a special service unit until the new assignee has been in the camp to which assigned until a period of three months has elapsed. The AFSC policy of a new man remaining in the camp for a period of six months is a policy based on the belief that, comparatively speaking, that amount of time in camp can be a beneficial experience. Also, it is seldom that there are more openings in special service than can be filled by men who have served at least that amount of time in camp. The waiving of the 3-mos. rule is extremely rare, and the AFSC is reluctant to waive the 6-mos. rule unless a very definite need is met by doing so.

A letter from Dale Iorter, former Colevillite now at Eastern State (mental) Hospital at Medical Lake, Washington, informs us that there is one vacancy there for an attendant if any one here is interested. The letter is a very interesting one, describing the good and bad aspects of the life there for an attendant, and if you are interested in either the opening or just reading the letter, let us know. A few excerpts: "The c.o.'s have plenty of group activities -- c.o. dances (with student nurses and c.o. wives invited) about once or twice a month, occasional woinor bakes, plenty of swimming in the lake 1-mile away, ice-skating in the winter, vigorous tennis rivalries, bicycling, ...Spokane 20 miles away, with free lodging...at F.O.R. Fellowship House and Hostel..." "With two days free each week, one can relax and recover from the sometimes strenuous work on the ward....This gives an idea of some of the more pleasant aspects of life in a hospital unit, I think you've all heard plenty about the unpleasant side, but one grows accustomed to that, and takes it for granted. In a two-page description of Life at E.S.H., Dale says: "This brief narrative gives an idea of the effort necessary on the part of one attendant to assist 25 men, on three wards in a three-floor building, to sleep peacefully and comfortably. Up and down the stairs from first to third floor and back twenty or thirty times a night is the usually accepted routine. However, most of the patients are surprisingly well behaved. A nucleus of twenty-five men probably includes most of the trouble-makers....About the time I think my work is taken care of for the moment budlum breaks loose somewhere...perhaps some irate individual has thrown his bed-pot, by no means empty, at some other individual, ... one fellow bursts into loud and hair-raising shrieks every other night or so, ...another patient, ...seems to have an irresistible impulsion to indulge in public-spooking, at all hours of the day and night...until some nights, in desperation, I have taken him to the shower room...let him sit there in comparative isolation and babble away to the tiled walls...I've just returned from a sleuthing expedition upstairs to learn who has been beating a rat-tat-tat on the floor with his pot, and why....From descriptions I have read, hospitals in the Eastern U.S. are far more crowded than this hospital, and conditions correspondingly worse."

Tidbits about ex-Colevillites now at Finchurst, N.C., as guinea pigs in the atypical pneumonia experiment: George Ebeling reading plays over the inter-room telephone system, Brian O'Neill has given up hope of getting any bar-bells to use, or substitutes. Which, quoting from a letter from Henry Flinitch, "under the circumstances shows commendable self-restraint -- and has been, in common with others, using the heavy waterpipes which cross the ceilings. The real epic to emerge from this situation is Brian's monumental labor in obtaining some extra coffee -- at his own expense of course, and involving considerable spiritual discipline....Over-all of

W E I S E R S

Wednesday
September 27, 1944
Camp Antelope

For the Spike Camps of
CFS 37, Coleville, Calif.

As most of you are aware, the Philadelphia staff, in preparing to carry out the recommendations of the Committee on the Future of AFSC-CFS, as approved by the CFS Committee on August 28, 1944, began early in September to investigate the possibility of turning over Powellville and possibly Corcoran to Selective Service. The telegram of September 5, 1944, asking for the names of men who would transfer to any Friends Camp in accordance with this move was a part of this procedure.

Preliminary discussions with Selective Service indicated that it might be possible to undertake the transfer, at least of Powellville, in the immediate future. Interviews were at once begun with all men at Powellville to determine which of them would prefer to remain under Friends administration and would therefore seek transfer to other AFSC camps and units, and which of them would prefer to remain at Powellville under Government administration.

It now appears that Selective Service is not anxious to undertake the additional load which the administration of Powellville would involve under the present conditions. Though further discussion of this matter in Washington is expected, the best assumption is that the transfer of Powellville to SSS administration is unlikely for the time being.

We will keep you informed of further developments.

From Camp Directors Memo #478

The Executive Committee at its last meeting officially adopted a revised and enlarged dependency program to be put into effect November 1st if funds are available. Although this decision was made on the basis of a report by the Dependency Committee, this report had not been discussed with some members of the staff or with the Finance Committee before it was presented to the Executive Committee. Serious problems are involved in the suggested change of dependency policy, and these must be worked out before it is realistic to approve such a change. For these reasons it is extremely unlikely that the revised program can go into effect November 1st. In the meantime, cases of need will be handled as at present.

There is an opening at Antelope for CFS Truck driver. Applications should come in immediately. This is one of the most important positions that a man can take. It means long hours of hard work, and meeting the outside public, especially when trading is done. We will have to make a decision as quickly as possible so the new driver can make a couple of trial runs with Lennis before he leaves for Orlando.

There is another opening for Camp Maintenance man. Anyone with the knack for fixing things would be happy in this job.

Wednesday October 11, 1944
Camp Antelope

For the Spike Camps of
CFS 37, Coleville, Calif.

LETTER TO THE CONSTITUENCY

Mammoth Lakes, Oct. 5, 1944

I thought I might attempt a few comments on what has happened in Philadelphia since August when I was there. Most of the developments have been disappointing to say the least, and it now becomes crystal clear that the CFS of 1945 will differ in no material way from the CFS that we have now.

For a while it looked as though things were popping. You recall the urgent telegram asking for the names of those who wanted to try a new government camp at Powellsville. And Coshocton was a foregone conclusion to become another SS administered camp. In the first week or two after I returned to Mammoth it began to look as though we were actually going to accomplish what the committee decided to do i.e. close or transfer enough camps to finance standard dependency allotments to the tune of about \$13,000 per month.

Then things began to happen in reverse. Kosch vetoed the Powellsville transfer at the last minute saying that he would take over the administration of all the Friends camps or none. Paul Furnas approached the Colonel a second time in Chicago, where all the agencies were conferring on demobilization, and the answer was still the same. The Colonel dropped a remark, "What about the Mennonites and the Brethren if the Friends withdraw from some camps?" And when F.J.F. carried this chance remark of Kosch's to Orrie Miller of the Mennonites in a recent "conversation", Miller almost passed out. A lot of people in Philadelphia are also horrified. Ken Morgan thinks the obligation to the other two peace churches is more important than the need for changes in the present system, and if it comes to a showdown on that matter there is little chance that the Friends will want to make any fundamental changes.

This of course knocked in the head any chance of getting the new dependency program under way as we had planned. And a complication within the AFSC itself appeared, to confuse matters. Charlie Mitchell's report and recommendations on dependency needs which we (the committee) approved in August apparently hit Paul Furnas and Harold Evans as a complete surprise, as it had not been previously approved by the Finance Committee which controls the CFS purse strings. Unfortunately there is not an assignee representative on this committee - just where an interchange of information and views is most needed.

After the Executive Committee had approved Mitchell's suggestions, it appeared that the Finance Committee had different ideas. They favor throwing the problem in the lap of the local meeting or denomination to which a man belongs, giving aid from general CFS funds only where all other avenues are closed or non-existent. They argue that we cannot honestly use CFS contributions for dependency because people give for camp operation. The representatives are convinced that the problems are by no means separate.

The differences in the open, those two committees finally reached the compromise that you will find in the current INFORMATION SUPPLEMENT. It is much more rigid than the one we thought we had set up a month ago but supposedly gives the Finance Committee a sounder basis on which to raise funds. And it is also designed to be more satisfactory to the Mennonites, who will assume one third of the non-peace church dependency load. You will note that the AFSC hopes to be able to raise additional funds to cover dependency needs, since reducing the camp load seems out of the question. I hope they can do it, but I wonder.

Wednesday November 15, 1944
Camp Antelope

W H I S P E R S

For the Spike Camps of
CFS 37, Coleville, Calif.

FURLOUGHS: Many have asked if their furloughs for December and early part of January have been OK'd but as yet there is no answer since we have not received word from Philadelphia as to the regulations pertaining to Xmas furloughs for this year. As soon as Antelope receives the word we will let you know if your furlough is OK.

SHCE STAMP APPLICATIONS: In the future the man applying for a shoe stamp should sign his name (in ink) on the line "Signature Of Applicant Or His Agent". The Asst. Director need not sign the application.

CARSON VALLEY: Sometime ago as a result of conversations between Lenny Sumner and Fred Dangberg (who owns controlling interest in the corporation which hold approx. 7000 acres of tillable land spreading South, East, and North from Minden to the hills), Fred Dangberg conducted a tour of the holdings for Lenny and Charlie Sanders. The interest in the tour was primarily to find what post-CFS opportunities existed in this region for potential-farmer CFS men. It resulted in no concrete promises of opportunity in the nature of independent-farmer existence, or group-family colonization of the land. It did result in a favorable response to the idea of such, if CFS men first worked into the present system of corporation-farming, as either farmhands or foremen, and working with the owners of the land in eventually working out arrangements mutually beneficial (Dangberg stated: "I'm getting old and won't be able to run the production of this land forever, and making this land ever-more productive is my biggest desire. The idea of eventual-colonization of the land somewhat appeals to me, if it insures keeping the land in good production."). The prevailing wage scale runs about as follows: for the foremen: \$135.00 per month, plus living quarters (also vegs. and milk supplied); for the farm-hands: \$4.00 per day, plus three squares and a bunk in the barracks. Normally, the number of men on the Dangberg payroll is about 70. (It is much less than that now, and it is hard to estimate how permanent an interest Dangberg has in CFS men, whether it is mainly to fill the labor gap the quickest way, or whether good permanent arrangements can be evolved.) All of the land is irrigated, the water coming from the Carson River and from two reservoirs up in the Sierra-Nevada Range, which also irrigate the other two-thirds of the valley. About 1000 acres of the Dangberg holdings are now pasture land due to shortage of help. The rest are mainly in alfalfa or clover, with some acreage in oats, barley, winter wheat, and potatoes. The ranch has about 10,000 sheep, 1500 head of cattle and horses, and 200 pigs. -- It is estimated that when new reservoirs are built in the Sierra-Nevadas, 10,000 acres more of land will be under cultivation in the Carson Valley. As far as jobs are concerned; Dangberg is very desirous of CFS men working for him when released from CFS.

ARE YOU INTERESTED IN RURAL LIFE? Whether you are interested in colonization, just buying a farm to operate as a full-time business, buying a small farm and renting additional land to meet one's needs, or depending on income from part-earnings off the farm, or renting a farm either on a share or cash basis, a new research bulletin compiled by the NRSRO is a good aid to thinking. (The bulletin includes Sections on Criteria for Buying a Farm, Business Opportunities in Rural Areas, and a List of Agencies to Assist Men in Rural Resettlement (and what specific aids they will give). It describes various opportunities for rural resettlement, including Govt. Reclamation Projects and Areas outside U.S., (chiefly Alaska). An instance of the first is the Columbia Basin Project which is expected to transform about 2,000,000 acres of dry land "into a well-watered, compactly-settled and highly productive region". About Alaska, it describes those areas similar in climate to the Northeastern U.S. (climate only gets down to 25 in the winter), such as Southeastern Alaska, The Kona Peninsula, The Katanuska Valley. -- Anyone interested in reading the bulletin drop Chas. S. a line.

Friday, December 15

A. 1944

Camp Antelope

WHISPERS

For Camp Antelope and the
Spike Camps of CPS 37,
Coleville, California

CHRISTMAS FURLOUGHS: This year Selective Service has ruled that there shall be a ten per cent furlough quota in CPS units between December 12, 1944 and January 10, 1945 -- that means fourteen men for CPS 37. During this period no man may take more than fourteen days of furlough, and no furlough may begin or end on December 23, 24, 25, 26, and December 29, 30, 31, January 1, 2. This restriction applies to all men regardless of the type of transportation (public or private) which they intend to use. ***** The quota for Christmas furloughs, December 22-27, is already full; but it is still possible for men to apply for furloughs beginning on December 28 and running over New Year's. Such furloughs, however, must be at least seven days long in order to include all the days on which travel has been banned. Likewise, if anyone is still interested, it is possible to apply for a furlough before Christmas provided it ends not later than December 21.

FURLOUGHS IN GENERAL: Perhaps the news has not gotten around that we have been given a 25 per cent quota for furloughs for the rest of the winter to make up for the furlough restrictions that apply during fire season, logging, Ruby Fence project, etc.

CHRISTMAS AT ANTELOPE: There are a number of things cooking for Christmas week in Antelope. Thursday evenings have turned into ice cream socials here (plenty of ice cream, plus root beer and cookies, for 20¢) to which will be added on the Thursday before Christmas singing of Christmas carols and a reading of Dicken's Christmas Carol. On Saturday evening, December 23, we will have a movie, Carnival of Flanders described by someone who has seen it as a very good French farce (with English titles). On Sunday morning, December 24, there will be a Christmas Chapel Service; on Sunday afternoon, a playing of the Messiah on the camp electric victrola. Records for the Messiah are being given to the camp by the Southern California Service Committee. On Sunday evening, Christmas Eve, we will have a Christmas party, gifts, singing, food, etc. Christmas day includes Christmas Dinner in the afternoon, very likely more recorded music, and a group entertainment in the evening. A movie, "Life Begins at 8:30" (Monty Woolley and Ida Lupino) has been scheduled for the day after Christmas. Last year some men went skiing on Christmas Day -- this year ???

VISITORS: Katharine Whiteside Taylor and her daughter, Mary Clarkson, Mildred Jones, Frances Nooly, and possibly Kit Luther are expected to be in camp for Christmas.

COMING EVENTS: "The Scarlet Pimpernel" will light up New Year's Eve for men who are in Antelope at that time; and "Crime and Punishment" will be shown around January 13, 1945.

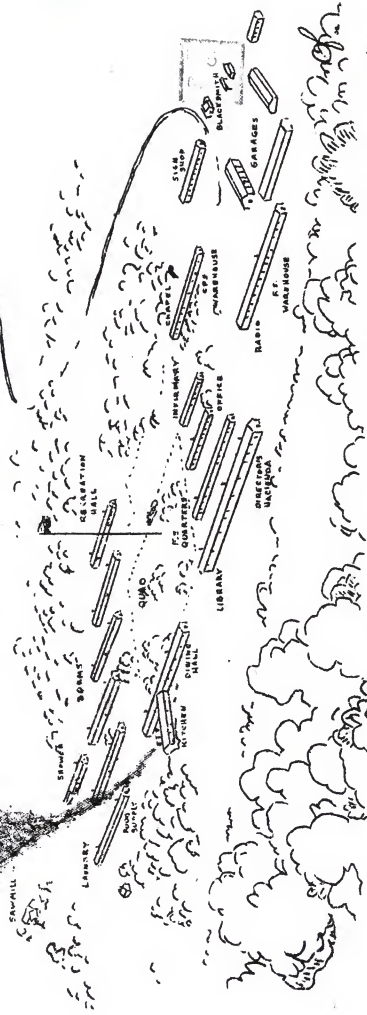
RECENT ELECTIONS: It is old news now that Brian O'Neill was elected Work Jock to succeed Darwin Solomon who, though elected, never actually took over the position due to an opportunity to carry on his experimental work in Milford, Utah, through the winter; and Norman Rich was elected Educational Secretary to succeed Dexter McBride who resigned after serving in that position for a little more than one year. Ted Adams, Hugh Hammond, Stanley Jackson, and Kim Creed now compose the Work Committee. Ted Adams, incidentally, who has been in CPS 37 so long that only Hollowell can remember, was the first Work Jock that Antelope ever had. Irving Garrison, Corny Steelink, and Jim Dyer were elected to the General Service Fund Committee, and will administer it with the help of Nickles (warehouseman) and Luther (bookkeeper) who are ex officio members of that committee. Carl McInney, Claude Lewis, Al Jones, and Alex Reed are now the Personnel Committee, working with Charles Sanders, the Personnel Secretary, and with Emerson Darnell during Sanders' absence from camp. It is worth noting that these elections aroused more interest than has been shown in elections for a long time. About two thirds of the men in camp voted.

TRANSFERS: To balance the flock of men who have transferred out of here in the past month, we are currently expecting a group of men from Powellville to arrive just before Christmas.

VIEWING
ANTELOPE
IN '44

SAGE O'PIÑON

January Issue



CAME ANTELOPE is seen here from a rocky projection on the foothills behind camp, favorite hiking objective. Sage and piñon pine dot Antelope Valley, with Mt. Antelope amongst the Sierras in the background.

Safe
Opinion

February Issue 1944

Sage
O'PENON

MARCH

1964

Will America have
Peace Time Military Conscription

SAGE OPINION

U.S. FOREST SERVICE

AND

In the administration of CFS Camps the Forest Service has a definite responsibility to give assignees a sound understanding of the nation's forestry problems and of the social and economic objectives inherent in Forest Service work programs. These assignees are young men from all walks of life; they are, on the average, men of more than average intelligence; and they should carry away with them an appreciation of what forestry means and in what way the work they are doing contributes to national objectives in conservation and public welfare. This requires that we provide able supervision, program orientation, and training in the work which they are called upon to do.

- Forest Service CFS Handbook

CPS

Volume II, Numbers 11 and 12
combined
Civilian Public Service Camp 37
Coleville, California
May, 1944

AUGUST, 1944

Sage

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 A Shoemaker And A Fish Peddler
 Voices On Pacifism

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PACIFICA VIEWS

Vol. 2

January 5, 1945

No. 31

"LIBERALS" AND CONSCRIPTION

THE plan for a peacetime draft, we are told, will be pressed early in this session of Congress, and, according to the United States News for Dec. 1, "it will have behind it the full weight of many forces, from the White House down."

Pacifists are familiar with the rhetoric advocating military training: Military might will be needed to enforce the Dumbarton Oaks agreement; a year of service will enable the government to improve the health of our underprivileged youth and stiffen the spines of the self-indulgent and flabby; conscription will be a democratizing influence, bringing rich and poor together on equal terms.

The counter arguments are equally familiar: A large force will not be needed, for Germany and Japan will be impotent for years; why, then, militarize American youth? There are far better ways than military training to improve the national health; on this, experts agree. Military training is the opposite of democratization, being rather a long step on the road to Fascism. Finally, a large conscript army and navy will loom as a threat to all other nations, preventing development of the international confidence necessary to an enduring peace.

European Patterns

Analysis of peacetime conscription at another level is presented by John T. Flynn in *As We Go Marching* (pp. 98-108, 203-212). The pattern is fairly simple. Conscription is a short-term solution of the unemployment problem. Military conscription is conceived by political opportunists as a gigantic WPA project which, while fabulously expensive, is the only large-scale government spending that conservative and reactionary interests will support. Military conscription is a non-competitive enterprise and a large portion of its cost in taxes will be returned to private industry in the form of government purchases of arms and equipment. This pleases the industrialists, while the militarism pleases the imperialists. Meanwhile, the job-

less millions will hardly object to a project that reduces their number, improving their chances to find work.

Thus, besides the superficial plausibility of the popular arguments for peacetime military conscription, there are these practical considerations which underpin the contentions of "realists," who are—in Burnham's meaning—the ruling Machiavellians of our time.

Groups Opposing Conscription

This alignment of "many forces" in support of military training has the effect of reducing the opposition to those whose objections are based entirely on principle and on long-range considerations—never a numerous body. Reports from Washington indicate that the bulk of the opposition has come from ministers, educators and labor groups. Clergymen are against the measure on various grounds—they oppose war, militarism and barracks-room morality. Educators who feel their responsibility to the youth of coming generations protest as teachers and as conservators of democratic idealism. Labor organizations see the clear fascist implications for their future in the bill. Pacifist opposition as such, unless it is overwhelming, will be discounted. Realizing this, most pacifists phrase their expressions in terms of the foregoing objections.

We hear the objections of these groups, and a few others, but where is the voice of liberal, anti-militarist America? The fact of the matter is that a large number of men of allegedly liberal convictions are either supporting or failing to oppose military training. Some of the war liberals who submit to the illiberal logic of conscription doubtless feel qualms, but the traditional arguments against it are weakened by two important considerations.

First, the great majority of liberals supported the steps which led us into war. It is difficult if not impossible to justify participation in this war, to ignore or minimize

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Vol. 2

January 12, 1945

No. 32

PATRIOTISM AND EGO

IT was probably a Virginian who was quoted as saying that he thought his country was the finest country in the world, his state the finest state in the country, his county the finest county in the state, and his town the finest town in the county. And it was probably a perverse Yankee who continued where the Virginian left off, "Yes, and your neighborhood is the finest neighborhood in town, your family is the finest family in the neighborhood, and you're the finest fellow in the clan."

Whoever he was, he had hit the core of the patriotic spirit. When the patriot says, "My country, right or wrong," it is my country, not my country, that is significant. The merits and demerits of his native land have nothing to do with the case, as Deatur's slogan clearly indicated. It is the fact that it is native, and to him, that is important. By virtue of geographical accident he was born there, and therefore that country is hot stuff. Had he been born elsewhere, he would have had another loyalty.

The Inner Conflict

Patriotism is thus the expanded Ego. It can be defined in terms of concentric circles, representing locality, state, nation, and the world. The intensity of fervor diminishes as the radius lengthens, and increases as Ego is approached.

The patriotic identification of the state with the Ego is far from accidental. Our modern society, practicing the ethic of Mammon and professing the ethic of Jesus, obviously has a schizophrenic streak. A society which forces men to operate on the level of self-interest, or ruthlessness, or greed for power, develops inner conflicts when it also forces them to present the appearance of humility, altruism, and self-sacrifice. Our society is aggressive, greedy, ruthless, power-centered, and impersonal. Confront this fact with the humanitarian ethic and we have a race of men who are constantly forced to appear other than they are. This conflict

must be marked in the economically successful person, who has developed to a high degree what Veblen called the "predatory instinct." But for the unsuccessful, to the burden of having to behave like human beings in a competitive society whose essence is inhumanity, is added the frustration of economic failure.

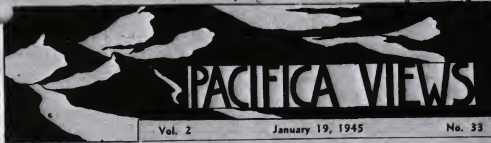
Emotional Release

Patriotism furnishes an outlet. The state, with which the individual identifies himself as a patriot, can do and profess openly all those things which the individual cannot do and profess openly and remain in polite society and the Christian community. The state becomes the embodiment of all those unsocial traits which organized society represses in the individual.

The state is vain, greedy, above law, ruthless, and utterly indifferent to any interest save its own. The individual, who cannot be above law, can identify himself with a state which is above law. The individual, who is forced to be humble, can identify himself with a state which is utterly arrogant. The individual, who must be considerate, can identify himself with a state which is utterly greedy and ruthless. The individual, who is a failure, can identify himself with the state, "which has never lost a war." And when the state behaves with the irresponsible braggadocio of a self-centered adolescent, it is really he who is so behaving.

If modern society produces repression of those urges which are not socially permitted, it also creates, by the same process, guilt. At the same time that the successful person is repressed by the economic necessity of having to act like a rapacious egoist and maintain simultaneously the front of a Christian gentleman, he also feels guilty about it. Particularly if the process of successful living involves him in the mass debasement of destruction of other people of his own or other nations, he feels guilty. The unsuccessful

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THE LESSON OF YEARS

IT must be deeply disappointing—if not disturbing—to the original sponsors of Civilian Public Service to realize that the tide of pacifist approval of the program is running out, and that a strong current of criticism, both pacifist and non-pacifist, is coming in.

CPS began with the radiant hope of becoming the practical embodiment of the pacifist alternative to war. Today it is evident that CPS will end—if it ever does end—as an inglorious example of a federal program of forced, unpaid labor. Quite possibly, it will be a precedent for more of the same.

CPS began with heraldings of voluntary poverty, of sacrifice, and devoted labors for a cause. It continues by marking the lives of thousands of men with years of involuntary pauperism, of enforced neglect of loved dependents, and with the wearing strain of deliberate and calculated injustice.

CPS began with a dream of renewed moral inspiration. It was to become the seed-bed of religious enterprise, the nursery of creative pioneers. It is ending with widespread disaffection of men from the religious leadership that has clung so tenaciously to the CPS pattern, or at least, with their serious disillusionment, and a profound uneasiness among nearly everyone concerned.

Conscience Penalized

Critics of the CPS program maintain that some pacifists made a bad mistake in helping the Government to evade its responsibility to conscientious objectors. That was not the intention of those pacifists, but that has been the result of what they did. Conscience is not recognized in the United States as it is in England or in Canada. Here conscience is admitted in legislative phrase and punished in administrative practice.

Julien Cornell, counsel to the National Committee on Conscientious Objectors of the ACLU, has said in a John Day pamphlet, that, judging from the rulings of the Comptroller General, c.o.'s are to be regarded as "a

species of slave whose labor belongs to the State." Speaking of the participation of Friends in this program, Mr. Cornell, himself a Quaker, wrote elsewhere: "We have accepted means which we recognize to be evil in order to accomplish ends which could not otherwise be attained."

Norman Thomas, whose judgment is respected by all thoughtful Americans, has written that this country, in permitting the establishment of the CPS program, has allowed to grow up in the United States "a system of administrative punishment of political prisoners." He adds: "Continuous delay in dealing with this situation can only mean acquiescence in the development in this country of the same sort of administrative law-making as characterizes the totalitarian countries."

Opposition from Labor

More recently, the Workers Defense League expressed its position through Aron Glimartin, national chairman. Alert to the implications of the CPS program for the future of free labor, the Rev. Glimartin has called for the complete abolition of CPS. "The support of labor leaders is being sought in this appeal, which may be carried directly to the President."

A number of religious bodies have recorded tacit disapproval of the CPS program by resolutions favoring pay and dependency allotments for c.o.'s. Inasmuch as the program was begun with a disavowal of pay, these resolutions are a criticism of CPS.

Last month, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, after polling its draft-age members, withdrew from the National Service Board for Religious Objectors as a voting participant. From now on the FOR will have only a consultative relationship with the NSBRO. This move was intended to sever the connection of the FOR with any "agreements with Selective Service pertaining to the administration of conscription." The action followed

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THE PRICE OF FREEDOM

IN 1900 the industrial revolution was just making itself felt in the sprawling domain of Czarist Russia. Russia was the last of the great European nations to introduce the machine and the large-scale factory. With government support and foreign experts and capital, the feudal territories of the Czar began the process that had taken Europe over a hundred years of painful readjustment—and which still lies at the root of the social unrest and war of our time.

Peasant serfs were made into factory workers. They were brought into the cities, into the factories where they could see what their strength was. Before they had been dirt. They had been born to labor that the landlord might stuff himself on their fruit. But now they were brought together where they could see what was going on. They saw that without their labor, the landlord and the aristocrat—yes, even the Czar himself—were nothing. They, the workers, were dirt. Yes, but enough dirt together makes a mountain.

Meaning of Self-Government

And they learned that in other parts of the world people ran their own governments. They learned what parliament and congress and legislature meant. Self-government meant the end of ignorance, the end of military-church-landlord domination. It meant the end of secret police and Siberian exile.

The workers began to ask for these things. They sent petitions to the Czar asking if they might have a Duma—a legislature of their own to pass the laws of the land. They sent delegates to see the Czar and the other officials. They began to hold meetings and organize political parties. Some of them resorted to terrorism and bomb-throwing to get what they wanted.

At first the Czar refused to hear their petitions. He refused to see their delegates. He sent police out to spy on their meetings and cossack raiders came to break them up. But the workers kept organizing, kept holding

This article is eighth in a series entitled, "Pacifism for Other People," issued in mimeograph form by Dan Saita, CPS No. 42, Wellston, Mich. Based on material found in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* ("Russia," 11th ed.), "The Price of Freedom" illustrates the suggestive use for Pacifism of easily verified facts. The entire series may later be printed as leaflets by a pacifist group.

meetings, kept sending petitions. There were too many for the Czar to ignore entirely, so on Feb. 4, 1905, he issued an Imperial order promising a council of elected representatives to "aid in the preparation and examination of legislative proposals." A commission of inquiry was set up to figure out a way to get the promise into effect.

On Aug. 6, the new law was issued, setting up the Imperial Duma. But when the people examined the law they found they had been cheated. The Duma had authority only to "examine" proposals before they were acted upon by the Czar and his ministers. Only the Czar could make them into law. Furthermore, the Duma could be disbanded or suspended at any time.

This was not the constitutional government that the Russian workers wanted. This farcical government did not mean free speech, education; it made nothing but a continuation of the old order under a little different decoration.

If they couldn't get what they wanted by petitions, delegation and bomb-throwing, there were other ways. They had no arms, but they didn't need guns and ammunition. They had seen where their real power was. In September, 1905, they called a general strike. "For days the whole mechanism of civilized existence in Russia was at a standstill, all intercourse with the outside world cut off." The Czar held out as long as he could. But on the 17th of October, 1905, he

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No. 35

SCAPEGOATS AND PRISONS

THE desire to inflate our egos by making some one else the scapegoat for our own shortcomings is apparently one of the deepest human urges. Men desire fame and publicity for themselves, but we soon find that the world relegates 99% of us to obscure anonymity. Our plans for a happier future life seldom emerge from the dream stage. We are denied psychological and economic security by forces which we do not understand, so we make up an "explanation" simple enough for our comprehension: a few evil men are all that stand between us and happiness. Thus we avoid facing the reality of our own mistakes and inadequacies, refuse to admit our responsibility, and oversimplify the life of the world by narrowing to a few the blame that lies on all men including ourselves.

"Fixing Guilt"

Nothing is more dangerous than this temptation to scapegoat. It enslaves us to ignorance when only a search for truth and understanding can result in constructive action. All our pent-up frustrations and bitterness pour out in streams of hate and abuse which fall on the luckless scapegoats of our own invention: we name "axis war criminals" as if they were the only ones guilty of atrocities, gain an imagined superiority for ourselves by yelling "nigger," damn the capitalists when depressions come, blame war on munition makers, and always find the other partner 99% wrong in family disputes. So effectively does this process paint over our own guilt that even if scapegoating doesn't always leave a feeling of complete purity, we can at least enjoy the exhilaration of righteous indignation.

Pacifists and liberals are not victims of these delusions as often as the average run of people. They recognize that war's causes are more complicated than the fiendishness of Hirohito, that fascism is not cured by killing Hitler, Mussolini and their henchmen. They see that race prejudice is in reality

economic greed and the pleasant but costly illusion of raising oneself by pushing some one else down. But we are not free of delusion. Thus many pacifists play around with the dangerous oversimplification that "Roosevelt got us into the war," and some staunch conscientious objectors seriously discuss "the problem of the Jews."

The way we treat criminals in our courts and prisons can serve as an illustration of how easy it is to get deflected from one's course when a scapegoat appears on the horizon. Ever since Murphy and Taylor first went on their hunger strike at Danbury, the left wing of the pacifist movement has been lashing at the government and the Bureau of Prisons officials concerned. That Murphy and Taylor have been cruelly mistreated, as have many other less publicized c.o.'s, is not denied. Such planned cruelty is at the core of the prison system, but the way some pacifists have approached the problem is not calculated to make much change. Prison officials have been denounced and the impression left by some pacifist comment in these cases is that James V. Bennett and his team of scoundrels are all that stand between us and widespread "reform."

Not Solutions

"Write to the wardens, put pressure on Biddle, turn the heat on Bennett!"—these appear to be the recommended courses of action. That the Department of Justice and the Bureau of Prisons should become the scapegoat of our anger and frustration is natural enough, but it is all the more regrettable when one realizes that freeing Murphy and Taylor or ousting Bennett would probably accomplish just exactly nothing towards the solution of the problem of crime and punishment. Indeed, it would probably have the effect of deluding us into thinking that we had done something. There are at least 1000 cases of injustice as flagrant as that of Murphy and Taylor in American prisons, and the

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"BEHOLD TROUBLE"

THE advance notices and blurbs for Granville Hicks' new novel, *Behold Trouble*, were disturbing. They represented Hicks as portraying a conscientious objector who betrayed his cause; one who, when he thought mistakenly that the FBI had set out to investigate him, went violent—not berserk, but with cool reason—first shooting an innocent girl in the shoulder, then fleeing to a mountain hideout, there to have it out in a pitched gun battle with state troopers. The book seemed an underhanded attempt to discredit the entire pacifist movement, dealing a blow that hit decidedly below the belt, portraying a fictitious character who uses his pacifism to justify his killing of innocent neighbors, and thus impugning the motives of every c.o.

Character Not Typical

But Hicks' protagonist, Pierre Mason, is not a typical c.o. Hicks has the decency to point out emphatically that he is not and introduces several other more nearly typical pacifists as minor characters to contrast with Pierre. No, Pierre is a lonely, brooding soul much akin to his namesake in Melville's novel. He carries a chip on his shoulder. The world has dealt him some hard blows and he resents it. Although he can speak brilliantly of the positive side of pacifism, his own personal approach is almost purely negative. He is not a typical conscientious objector, yet in the wanderings of his tortured mind all pacifists will recognize at least the traces of a familiar pattern. Many of his thoughts are theirs, and not a few of his actions. Above all, the surface portrait is unmistakably familiar. Pierre is a young intellectual who likes "long-hair" music and art, worries about sex, discusses philosophy, quotes Thoreau lovingly, delights in old and comfortable clothes. On those scores one could easily find a half-dozen like him in any CPS unit in the country. Only beneath the surface is there an aberration from type. Although there are undoubtedly a few whose pacifism is essentially an embittered revolt against soc-

iety, by far the great majority have none of Pierre's resentment of his fellow man.

It is love and trust, not hatred of mankind, that has bred pacifists. I have lived with, worked and talked with hundreds of pacifists, but I have yet to find one that I could imagine reacting in violence as Pierre did. One may exist. Indeed we are familiar with an actual occurrence in the Berkshires early in the war, involving a man whom we suspect provided the germinal idea for Hicks' plot. But neither he nor Pierre can be considered "typical," and it is one of the unfortunate happenstances of fate that the lay reader of this novel will consider Pierre as true to form despite Hicks' warning to the contrary.

Nevertheless, I am grateful to Mr. Hicks. His novel is a far greater challenge to pacifist thinking than the unreasoned diatribes of the American Legion or the Veterans of Foreign Wars, which can be dismissed as pure emotionalism run wild. Mr. Hicks in contrast has given some deep thought to the problem. It is obvious that he doesn't agree with the pacifist, but he at least has taken the trouble of acquainting himself with pacifists and the philosophy of pacifism. His analysis of the thought-patterns of the tortured Pierre has made this reviewer do some serious rethinking of his position. For that I am and hope I will always be grateful.

Wartime Hysteria

I know it is almost certainly inevitable that this novel will do some harm to the Pacifist Movement. It will confirm the belief of some unthinking people that all conscientious objectors are, to use the phrase of one of Hicks' characters, a bit wacky. The Berkshire incident had such repercussions. It is something we must expect in the hysteria of wartime emotionalism. But is the Pacifist Movement so weak, so puny, that it cannot stand a critical attitude? Is it so pure that it cannot survive a sprinkling of mud? Must it question the motives of all who criticize it?

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No. 37

A MATTER OF WORDS

IN the Jan. 12 issue, the editors of PV ask the question, "Is love of country wholly bad? Must patriotism be restricted in meaning to selfish nationalism and chauvinism?" Going on to cite the Gandhian principle of "Swadeshi," under which the individual confines his attention to working in the land of his birth, but serves country only as part of service to humanity, the editors conclude by posing the problem again. "The question, then, is whether we should strive to erase altogether the feeling of patriotism, because of the evil form it takes in the modern world, or endeavor to re-direct its energy toward constructive ends."

The problem really becomes a matter of words. How do we define patriotism? Is it chauvinistic nationalism? Is it any bias, whether militaristic or not, toward the land of one's nativity? Does it consist merely in entering one's life work by necessity where he happens to be at the time? It is a matter of words. But a matter of words is important. Words are symbols which arouse in the hearer certain intellectual and emotional responses, which have been conditioned through previous exposure to those symbols. When we say that a problem is a semantic one, then, we are at the beginning and not the end of our quest.

The Patriotic Bias

Now the term "patriotism," as historically used, implies a bias. Whether the bias takes the form of such extreme statements as "my country, right or wrong," or becomes merely a conviction that the hills of home are greener than other hills, it means that the person in question tends to overpraise the strong points in his native culture and underestimate its weaknesses. Intellectually, and as a motor to the individual's activity, its weakness is concisely summed up by the sociologist William Graham Sumner: "Patriotism is a source of non-reality, and the patriotic bias is hostile to critical thinking."

Even in its mildest forms, when the patriotic bias is merely what the anthropologist calls "ethnocentrism," it distorts reality and is a stumbling block to the objective facing of social problems. But in its extreme forms, usually defined as "chauvinism," it is a vicious instrument employed by the exploiter class (whose important interests are still in large part national) to persuade the common people (whose most important real interests reach across national boundaries) that the people's interests are really the same as those of their exploiters.

"Geographical Specialization"

What the editors of PV and Gandhi are talking about, as they point out, is something entirely different. The "patriotism" of which they speak is not an ethnocentric bias, but merely geographical specialization. There is no pride in the land of one's birth or residence, no over-estimate of its virtues and under-estimate of its vices, but only the common-sense conviction that one is pretty much moored in space-time and has to concentrate most of his service to humanity wherever and whenever he happens to be. If this specialization is, really such, and not a matter of bias, then the question of where one was born or even where one holds nominal citizenship will become irrelevant, and though he move around the world he will put forth his best efforts to serve humanity effectively wherever he may sojourn.

We have, then, two distinct ideas, that of bias and that of specialization, and the question is whether the term "patriotism," which has traditionally been attached to the first, should be expanded to cover both, or shifted to signify the second. My feeling is that we should not try to shift definitions, and that it is not only theoretically but practically very important that we invent new words to describe new relationships. The old verbal symbols of "patriotism," "national loyalty," "love of country," the national anthem, and

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No. 38

COMPULSION AND CHOICE

IN a society relatively free from compulsion, shades of difference in opinion are almost infinite. While agreement on certain moral questions may be held desirable, the pressing for agreement without supporting conviction is shunned as destructive—the opposite of the educational process. Although Confucius was right in saying that men cannot act together without common principles, there is something worse than their failure to act together on this account. That “something” is the pretense that common principles exist when in fact they do not, joined with the compulsion of men to act together despite the absence of common principles.

Compulsion of men in matters of principle breeds cynicism and hypocrisy. It reduces society to the level of the bee hive and thwarts the creative human intelligence possessed by men but lacking in bees. This is the essential problem of government: how to maintain order without destroying the objective forms of freedom.

Independent Thinking

The situation of the conscientious objectors illustrates the problem. As pacifists, or men pacifistically inclined, those who are now c.o.'s undoubtedly had many differing reasons for opposing war before they were drafted. These differences were not a good in themselves, except to the degree that they represented independent thinking. Such differences are of no more value than the “agreement” of men whose opposition to war is only the manifestation of a hereditary dogma. Human thought is precious when it is characterized by depth, independence, and integrity, not when it happens to agree or disagree with conventional attitudes.

With the passage of the Selective Service Act, the long arm of State compulsion invaded the area of free thought. Pacifists of draft age were forced to decide whether or not they could qualify as conscientious ob-

jectors under the law. A new convention, backed by threat of punishment, had been introduced. Many men found themselves able to qualify as c.o.'s. Many others simply drifted into conformity with the definition provided by law. A few, like Pvt. Henry Weber, who until recently faced a sentence of life imprisonment, failed to conform.

Ordeal of the Pioneer

But the great majority of c.o.'s have incorporated the State's definition of conscientious objection with their own thinking. This means that legislative fiat is becoming part of the mores of the Pacifist Movement. Inevitably, the men left outside the pale of both law and the mores of Pacifism will suffer for their independence. While Weber's sentence was commuted, he has already paid a heavy price for his intellectual and moral integrity. It is probably true that not very many men have the strength to stand up to an ordeal such as Weber faced. Weber, in the framework of present circumstances, is a creative pioneer to whom came the opportunity to widen the area of free choice for human beings.

Sometimes the course of free choice moves in another direction. During the Spanish civil war, Fenner Brockway, English pacifist and radical member of Parliament, made a curious discovery about himself. As Chairman of the War Resisters International, Mr. Brockway was deeply involved in the mores of Pacifism. He had given much thought to the possibilities of non-violent revolutionary techniques. Yet, when he read of the valor of Spanish workers and peasants, his heart leaped to their support. He tells, in *Inside the Left*, of his burning desire to see them succeed in their social revolution:

I turned eagerly [he writes] to the papers each day to read how the conflict went, and I rejoiced whenever,

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NEED FOR PROTEST

I HAVE read Caleb Foote's article on "Scapegoats and Prisons" in the Feb. 2 issue of PV with interest and considerable distress. From my knowledge of the activities of the author I cannot believe that he really means what he seems to say. Few can deny the truth of his fundamental theme that human nature delights in scapegoats, but his application of this fact disregards a host of hard facts which are as true as his theme.

Because the causes of war go far deeper than Hitler and his kind, does not mean that the Germans, for example, can content themselves with recognizing that fact. They must still decide whether or not to obey Hitler. As a symbol and leader, Hitler is a fact and he must be resisted by individuals who love freedom. C.o.'s who refuse to obey conscription laws, as Caleb Foote did, are resisting concrete governments as well as following the dictates of their abstract reasoning. The refusal to cooperate with evil always means the refusal to cooperate with individuals who symbolize or represent that evil. One cannot refuse to cooperate with evil in the abstract. It must always be done with reference to concrete facts. Because Hitler cannot rightfully be made the scapegoat of war does not mean that Hitler does not have to be resisted by methods which are non-violent and moral.

Responsible Individuals

However much one may be opposed to prisons, they exist and individuals are sent to them by force. Neither the c.o. nor any convicted criminal can resist going to prison. He can refuse to cooperate with the prison regime, but he cannot escape being in prison. Does this mean that the friends of individuals in prison or those with humane instincts should stand aside when prisoners are mistreated? Does it mean that the prisoner himself should do nothing when he observes other prisoners being mistreated? To say that prison itself is mistreatment begs the

question. Unless one believes in no action in such cases, one must appeal to the prison authorities and to the public. It is not true that it makes no difference who is head of the Bureau of Prisons or what kind of men are chosen as wardens. It makes a tremendous difference. There could be and have been far worse Directors of the Federal Bureau of Prisons than Bennett, but that does not mean that any Director can be immune from criticism. As nearly as I can determine, the removal of several of the worst guards in Building 10 at Springfield has made some difference to the inmates since the last investigation by Bennett. Criticism has to be directed against individuals because individuals are immediately responsible, however much the fault may lie with all of us.

Results of Criticism

Actually, the efforts of Murphy and Taylor on behalf of other prisoners in Building 10 at Springfield were not in vain, nor was the pressure exerted on Biddle and Bennett. Conditions improved for Murphy and Taylor only when such pressure was brought. Private appeals had made no difference up to that time. Of course, this pressure accomplished nothing towards the solution of the c.o. problem nor the solution of crime, but it did produce some reforms in punishment. The magnitude of the need for those reforms can only be appreciated when one places himself in the position of the prisoner in strip cells or solitary confinement.

Personally, I am not convinced that society today can do without custodial institutions for the mentally and morally unfit. That many individuals become confined in such institutions unjustly is something for which we must "turn on the heat." Of course, c.o.'s do not belong in prison and the only solution of the problem is freedom for all c.o.'s. But if men are actually confined in prison, we are not helping society to abolish prisons

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PACIFICA VIEWS

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PACIFISM AND DEMOCRACY

WHILE there are obvious objections to defining Pacifism in negative terms, for example, simply as "uncompromising rejection of all acts of war," the necessity of a negative definition should be equally clear. The positive aspects of pacifist philosophy are widely practiced by non-pacifists, and if Pacifism were defined only in positive terms, the distinctive test of absolute rejection of war would be lost. That is why the basic definition of the pacifist position must remain negative.

But once the stage of strict definition is passed, the peculiar obligations of the pacifist at once present themselves in positive form. Probably the most self-evident of these obligations is the practice of democracy, for the pacifist alternative to war involves virtually every principle of democratic philosophy: reliance on reason and persuasion in the settlement of differences; the ideal of justice and equality in human relations, and a fundamental faith in the capacity of people to govern themselves, internationally as well as nationally.

"Technical" Pacifists

Belief in the methods of self-government: this is one of the positive faiths of Pacifism. It might be said that men who, although they reject war, fail to support the processes of self-government, can qualify as pacifists only technically, under its negative definition. They cherish contradictory attitudes, enjoying the freedom but disavowing the responsibilities of democratic life. It is impossible to have a genuine belief in the power of persuasion and to exercise petty tyranny for private purposes. It is impossible to declare and act for the brotherhood of man and at the same time to create and support social forms which are founded on privilege and the spirit of exclusiveness. If we would carry the light of good will and friendship to "enemy" peoples, and win them to ways of peace, we must learn first the elemental principles of justice, and practice them at home. So long as we are willing to enjoy

the fruits of power—the economic power which is backed by guns—so long will the practice of peaceful ways remain an untried theory. It is easy for the prosperous to "love" their fellows; but it is difficult for them to be just.

Pacifist Realism

Reinhold Niebuhr, no longer a pacifist advocate, but a man who nevertheless has caused pacifists to do a lot of thinking, wrote in 1927:

Those of us who are pacifists ought to realize more clearly than we do that spiritual attitudes can never gain us security in the possession of material advantages. There is much to be said for the position that a civilization and a culture may not only be protected without the use of force, but that they can be maintained incorruptibly in no other way. But it requires an army to preserve a higher standard of living than the rest of the world enjoys. An essentially selfish nation cannot afford to be trusting. Its selfishness destroys the redemptive and morally creative power of its trust.

Are pacifists ready to take their chances with the wolves, on the basis that Niebuhr suggests? Of course, to break entirely with the acquisitive structure of modern society would mean turning anarchist, or retreating to a hermitage. This is an individual decision. But there is also the field of common enterprise by pacifists. Do the projects which they undertake together reveal a positive faith in democracy? This is a hard question.

We, who would confront the brutalities of war armed with nothing but soul-force: how do we treat with the civilian authority of the war state at home? Is the CPS program, for example, a stand for principle or a gain for privilege? Is it democratic and inclusive, or restrictive and sectarian? Is CPS in part the product of pacifist prosperity, created to provide a kind of "security" for the timid?

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THE MEANING OF "PACIFISM"—TWO VIEWS

Irwin Stark:

IT is disturbing to find so keen a person as Dr. Hughan unwilling to recognize a rather profound and growing cleavage in pacifist thought. "We remain unperturbed," she writes (in PV for Dec. 19), "as to who we are, whether we are, and what is our job in this confused and chaotic world." Precisely the opposite thought is presented in a review by the editor of the *Conscientious Objector* in the January issue of that paper. Mr. Tuck, as a matter of fact, goes so far as to exclude "most present pacifists" from the concept of a pacifist movement, and calls for building a new movement "from the ground up."

There is no doubt that Dr. Hughan's definition of Pacifism is "correct." But that is not the argument of either Mr. Tuck or of one who, like myself, believe that Pacifism is stewing in its own juice. We don't quarrel with the correctness of the present definition. We'd simply like to get around to a new one.

Ivory Tower Pacifism

What Dr. Hughan is really saying is this: It doesn't matter what you are so long as you don't engage in organized killing. If you don't bear arms, subscribe to war loans, or work for defense, you're a "pacifist" come hell and high water. Presumably it's all right if you voted for Dewey and the Republicans, or if you did not vote but prayed to God on election day. If you sit in a nice ivory tower reading your bible or Marcel Proust, and don't engage in organized killing—that's all right, too. Sadly enough, that is "pacifism" today, a large chunk of it at least.

What Tuck and others like him are saying is this: It does matter what you are and what you do, because war is a complex social-economic-psychological-political phenomenon. When your program makes no attempt to strike at the causes of war as we see them in the world today, you may be

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Jessie Wallace Hughan:

STIMULATING replies have come to the PV article in which I defined Pacifism as the deliberate refusal to support the organized killing known as war.

Irwin Stark considers as pacifists only those who "strike at the causes of war as we see them in the world today." But who are "we"? To Stark, as well as to me, this seems to imply activity in political Socialism.

Ammon Hennacy, on the other hand, insists upon vegetarian anarchism and excludes from pacifist logic just that Socialist action for which Mr. Stark contends.

Here are two tested and intelligent war resisters whose definitions of pacifism would automatically exclude one another. Could we illustrate better the need for the narrow definition which alone makes broad membership practicable?

The Splintering Process

At the outset of his reply Stark quotes Jerry Tuck in calling for a new movement "from the ground up," which would exclude "most present pacifists." It is good that young and ardent spirits should see clear-eyed the defects of their own group. Yet is the remedy to "start something" new? May it not be this tendency to build afresh in each generation which has hitherto kept down progressive movements to futility? The surge of young Socialists toward the Left before 1914 took shape in the Communist split; the long discussions of the twenties on "What's the Matter with the Socialist Party?" culminated in the defection of the Right to the Social Democratic Federation. All over the world purge has spelled disaster; for war and capitalism continue to stand solidly entrenched while every twenty years a new wave of revolution breaks into fragments.

Yet we radicals would be false to our principles if criticism should cease, if creeds should crystallize, if youth did not forever

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Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Honorary Chairman
RUFUS M. JONES

Executive Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee

Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7,  Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 9372

September 20, 1945

Dear Friend:

We have just been informed that the Winstead Bill, H. R. 3772, prohibiting the discharge of CPS men under a point system proposed by Selective Service, has been called up on the House calendar. Objection by a North Carolina Congressman has postponed a vote on this measure, but its early consideration seems very likely.

In view of the interest which you have expressed in response to our earlier letter outlining the increasing instances of legal discrimination against C.O.'s, we wonder whether you would be willing immediately to wire your congressman asking him: (1) to watch for the re-introduction of the measure and to register his objection to it, (2) to use his influence with Representative Winstead and others to convince them that the Bill will have very unfortunate and unjust consequences, denying to men who have served their country loyally and legally according to their religious conscience, an opportunity for orderly discharge alongside the men from military service.

Already the introduction of this Bill has been responsible for delaying the discharge of CPS men four months after the beginning of the army's demobilization. Selective Service cannot be expected to act while such a Bill is receiving consideration in Congress.

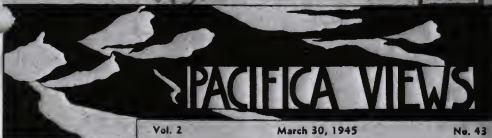
Will you let us know promptly what response you receive from your congressman so that we may know whether to expect his support.

Very cordially yours,



Clarence E. Pickett
Executive Secretary

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PACIFICA VIEWS

Vol. 2

March 30, 1945

No. 43

THE NEW MINORITY

PACIFIST opposition to war is for the most part embodied in two basically different groups. One, represented by the traditional Peace Churches, has followed the same pattern of religious rejection of war for centuries. Of the three major Peace Churches, neither the Mennonites nor the Brethren have ever offered much more than a moralistic explanation of war, tending rather to deny or neglect political responsibility to this manifestly "ungodly" society. Their attempts to integrate Pacifism with the social structure have been limited to their own semi-isolated and protected religious communities.

The second group of war-resisters is composed of social revolutionaries and reformers rather than religious sectarians. In laboring for economic justice and political equality, these have finally seen the necessity of separating themselves from all acts of war. The origins of this "radical pacifism" in recent history are clear enough. It has grown from a recognition of the profound need for international solidarity among the working classes of the world, coupled with the realization that it is the proletariat everywhere which suffers in wars created by imperialistic governments.

The Class Struggle

Largely for this reason, the recent evolution of war resistance is closely related to the history of the radical movement. Many socialists have been "pacifist" at one time or another; at least, they have agreed with the pacifist ideal of an international brotherhood of man. But because the Marxist tradition is founded on the doctrine of the class struggle, the radical rejection of war suffers from internal contradictions. Revolutionary theory which builds its hopes on stimulating and extending the class struggle is involved in methods which run counter to the fundamental pacifist doctrine of means and ends.

The most significant development of the present war lies in the fact that so many

of the c.o.'s in prison and CPS are socialists. Radical pacifism is probably the only constructive social movement which has made numerical gains in the United States during this war. Certainly the future of Pacifism does not lie with the Peace Churches. It is common knowledge that the Quaker witness against war is waning, with but one in 10 of drafted Friends becoming c.o.'s. Mennonite and Brethren leaders fear the effects of contesting the State authority on the issue of peacetime conscription and have already revealed their willingness to manifest simple gratitude for an alternative service program, as distinguished from uncompromised opposition. Radical pacifism, on the other hand, thrives on the struggle against the total state.

Political Pressures

These trends are very interesting. It is evident, for example, that when traditionally religious pacifists such as the Quakers maintain a level of education which opens them to the appeals of "liberalism," confusion is apt to result. The call of "duty to country" leaves the more other-worldly sects cold, but Quakers, who have entered the field of social reform via the "service philosophy," are bound to feel the pressures of the hour. Obviously, religious pacifists who are able to maintain their opposition to war despite growing political consciousness are the stronger for their trial, becoming thereby a dynamic force for social good in the community.

Conversely, when revolutionists acknowledge the contradictions between international brotherhood and modern war—even "revolutionary" war—they are moving toward the same balanced position as the socially conscious religious pacifists. Class hatred wanes in the presence of pacifist principles, and a new kind of "radicalism" begins to emerge.

In this synthesis of extremes, we witness the birth of a New Minority. Its members

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PACIFICA VIEWS

Vol. 2

April 6, 1945

No. 44

THE EROSION OF CHARACTER

THE over-all influence of any system of compulsion is weakening to character. Human beings grow and develop their capacities in direct proportion to the exercise of their initiative. Aptitude for moral responsibility requires the discipline of free choice and the personal experience of the consequences of one's acts. Conscription, as a social institution which is antagonistic to initiative and which greatly restricts the area of human choice, is inherently destructive of character. It is the veritable antitype of the educational process.

Compulsion is the essence of conscription. Men who accept the ends for which conscription is instituted are not really conscripted. These, however, are the exceptions. It is the unwilling majority which requires compulsion. To make their system operate successfully, the administrators of conscription exploit two motives—fear and ambition. Fear enforces submission and obedience. Threats, together with appeals to petty ambition, fracture the solidarity of the mass of conscripts, introducing various levels of "status" within the conscription system. It might be said that conscription is powered by fear and lubricated by ambition. A man with ability who finds the life of an ordinary conscript distasteful can always accept responsibility in the system and become a "climber." As he rises in status, he gradually changes his relation to conscription. Finally, he becomes an administrator of the system. To do this, he must accept its assumptions, either permanently, or opportunistically—pro tem.

Pattern of Conscription

In the Army, the method of climbing is through officers' training school. There are, of course, numerous special advantages which a man can gain in the Army by applying himself, and which do not lead particularly to administrative responsibility, but these jobs are part of the technology of war. The essential pattern is illustrated by the relation existing between men who give orders and those who obey.

Men who allow fear to become a controlling factor in their lives gradually lose their integrity as moral agents. Men whose ambition makes them choose to employ fear in the control of the lives of other men throw their integrity away. Thus conscription erodes character by exerting a constant pressure on the moral weaknesses of men. It wears them down by compulsion, and the only escape from the evils at the bottom of the system is to climb to the top on the backs of those who can't or won't climb themselves.

Conscription of C.O.'s

The form of conscription experienced by conscientious objectors is complicated by several factors which would not be present in a "normal" conscription situation such as the Army, Civilian Public Service, defined in terms of its psychological effects on the conscripts, is a punitive program designed to discourage conscientious objection to war. The factor of fear plays a less conspicuous role, and the opportunities for advancement are greatly restricted. A man may obtain detached service, and for a while there was the possibility of foreign service, but for the most part, c.o.'s have little more than the internal incentives of personal discipline in their conscript existence. It is a fact worth noting that the only real "climbing" possible to CPS men leads to special administrative positions with the service committees or the NSBRO.

In CPS, the fear of losing a preferred niche in the system is a powerful force in making conscription operate smoothly. Actually, the idea of any change or disturbance of their present "adjustment" evokes in some men a sudden horror and corresponding emotional resistance. The relative "freedom" and slack "discipline" of the privately administered camps achieve a nondescript blend with the doctrine that the men are "volunteers," and remoteness from government officialdom is interpreted as a victory for conscience. The

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PACIFICA VIEWS

Vol. 2

April 13, 1945

No. 45

"WAR AS A NATIONAL POLICY"

JUST what was wrong with the "peace-pledge" Pacifism of the late 20's and early 30's? Hundreds of thousands of people signed statements in which they rejected war absolutely, and yet, when the pressure came, only a fraction held to their position. Why?

Was it, for most, merely a transient impulse that caused them to sign in the first place? That some of the pacifism of the 30's was a passing phase, a liberal "vogue" due largely to the mood of disillusionment that followed World War I, there can be no doubt. But it would be a profound mistake to suppose that the Peace Pledge movement melted away for no other reason than the superficiality of its followers. A further explanation is needed, which is found in a view of the intellectual and moral forces which produced the anti-war sentiment of the period.

Pacifist Influence

First of all, the literary reaction to war, led by writers like Remarque, Hemingway, Tomlinson and others, created an atmosphere in which Pacifism could expand and grow. The influence of fiction, of movies like *All Quiet on the Western Front* and *The Grand Illusion*, gave background and setting to the repeated assurance of thousands of ex-soldiers to their friends, "Never again!" In the colleges and universities, this groundswell of war-rejection obtained scholarly support from historical research. Prof. Sidney Bradshaw Fay's exhaustive treatise, *Origins of the World War*, appeared in 1928, bringing dispassionate evidence that no one nation had caused the war, but that all were guilty. Slowly, the academic world accustomed itself to a new interpretation of "the war to make the world safe for democracy." The full impact of all these influences was felt in the 30's, producing a brief cycle of rapid progress for Pacifism. Feelings had found the support of cold facts. Result: thousands of young men pledged themselves not to support war.

It is a fact of special importance that scholarly vindication of the pacifist condemnation of World War I was in part the indirect result of the Russian and German Revolutions. Not until the officials of the new governments, eager to discredit their imperial predecessors, opened the archives of these nations to historical research did certain important documents become available to historians. Had these documents been accessible at once, researchers like Fay and Barnes would have provided students with the facts early in the 20's, to meet in head-on conflict with the lingering "myth" fostered by Mr. Wilson, the propaganda of the British, the patriotic fervor of Mr. Creel, and others. That we had to wait nearly ten years for the truth should suggest that the essential facts of the present struggle are still buried deep beneath mountains of propaganda.

Current History

How long must we wait this time? Fortunately, a few investigators have already begun the study of events which will become points of departure for future research. John T. Flynn, for one, has pieced together significant facts relating to the outbreak of our Pacific war. Harry Paxton Howard is making similar contributions, and Francis Neilson's three-volume, day-by-day story of the coming of the war in Europe is evidence that scholars—with and without political animus—are already at work on this stupendous task of historical analysis.

While the labors of these men may be a source of encouragement to pacifists, it is nevertheless true that the public at large is still wholly unaware of the meaning of the facts so far disclosed. The majority of citizens in the United States are still firmly convinced that, true to the Kellogg Pact, our country had, prior to Pearl Harbor and the "threat" of Nazi invasion, pursued a benignly peaceful course; that we had, in fact, thoroughly and sincerely rejected war as an instrument of national policy.

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PACIFICA VIEWS

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April 20, 1945

No. 46

REFORM OR ABOLITION?

EVAN THOMAS' emphasis upon the necessity of protesting such flagrant injustices as the mistreatment of Murphy and Taylor is one with which I am in complete agreement. If my *Scapagoats and Prisons* (PV, Feb. 5) gave the impression that I believed in "inaction," I am grateful to Dr. Thomas for the chance to correct it. My point is that such mistreatment is a symptom of the very nature of prisons, and thus the protests in which we engage should be a related part of a total effort to abolish prisons.

The civilian bombing and deliberate starvation which accompany this war are outrageous we protest, but few pacifists would believe that you can reform war. It must be eliminated. Likewise, while I have protested and will continue to protest individual prison injustices, I would still hold to the thesis that such reforms as improved physical conditions or administration will not bring fundamental changes. The latter will come only with the rejection of 90% of current penological practice and a revolution in popular attitudes towards "criminals."

"Model Prisons"

Most reform efforts of the past half-century, such as those of the Osborne Association, have concentrated on physical and administrative conditions within prisons; how men are fed, housed, worked, educated and classified. Having done time in a model prison the Osborne Association cannot praise too highly, and where the guards sometimes say "please," I am grateful for these efforts which made six months of my life physically easier for me. Yet how little such reform understands the real nature of imprisonment can be seen in the emphasis upon discipline, where physical abuse is attacked, but solitary confinement and psychological coercion are tolerated. The mental and psychological damage caused by a punishing imprisonment has been overlooked.

It is not too much to say that this "reform penology" has been a dismal failure. Our society is not protected, the majority who

are imprisoned are no more dangerous than you or I, and the prison continues to harm more often than it improves. Lewisburg Penitentiary psychologist Robert Lindner concludes a recent book by pointing "the finger of ridicule at the sterile corridors of modern prisons," and notes that "we do nothing fundamental about crime or the criminal."

The Punitive Motive

The reason for this failure of the reform movement lies in the philosophy behind prisons: that criminals should be punished, and that fear of punishment is essential as a deterrent from crime. You cannot reform an institution built upon so fallacious a foundation. Both religion and modern science unite in saying: Judge not and condemn not. Jesus, talking about the cleanliness of the inside of the cup, and the psychiatrist who shows that the "criminal" is in us all, are saying the same thing. It cannot be emphasized too strongly that pacifist philosophy rests upon the belief that it is education and example, not fear of punishment, that greases the wheels of civilization.

Nor can you change prison by trying to hide its ugly nature under a coat of rehabilitation, for rehabilitation and punishment mix no better than oil and water. Honest belief in the former must eliminate the latter, for punishment means condemnation and guilt. There are still few men worthy of throwing the first stone.

Yet the problem with which prison supposedly deals is a real one. Obviously there are warped persons so anti-social that society must be protected from them, just as it should be protected from the person who has scarlet fever. But these "morally and mentally unfit," as Evan Thomas calls them, should be treated as a medical and social problem, with society employing in their behalf the best skill of modern sociology, physiology, psychology and psychiatry. Our medical science does not punish those careless

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April 27, 1945

No. 47

RADICAL-PACIFIST TERMS

DAVID NEWHALL'S article on the need to re-survey pacifist political thinking and activity, and the recent editorial description of the New Minority of pacifist radicals, seem to me to be pretty accurate statements of the positions toward which a number of CPS radicals are moving.

Perhaps some comments at this point on such basic terms as social morality (and immorality), and class struggle may help steer the discussion off the rocks of what Dwight Macdonald in *Politics* calls "devaluated" terms.

"Constants" of Morality

The term morality is derived from the Latin word for custom. Morality is both the science and the practice of what is generally held to be good conduct; good, that is, for the maintenance of society.

But, as customs change from society to society, what is moral in one society will frequently be held immoral in another, totally unacceptable, that is, as social behavior. In order therefore to discover the constants of morality, we must discover the constants of social welfare; we must state those conditions under which all societies prosper. Such conditions involve the interaction of human beings, and of their organizations for living; it might be best first to define the conditions under which human beings prosper.

Psychiatrists, whose study of the causes of emotional unbalance leads them to formulate working hypotheses concerning emotional balance, tell us that the fundamental human drive, which must be sustained if a personal relationship is to be successful, is for Mutual Acceptance. M.A. alone can fulfill the emotional needs of every human being, which are not for self-aggrandizement or aggression, as our society assumes, but rather for affection. Hostility, to the psychiatrists, is a symptom of emotional illness, of dysfunction. In the absence of M.A., human beings employ hostility as a defense

mechanism. Individuals solve their personal problems by learning to accept one another, to offer and receive affection. Social morality, to pursue the parallel, should provide for the practice, not only the preaching, of mutual acceptance among different classes, nations and races.

"Some think that an animal, or instinctive antipathy to human beings of a different race is natural to all mankind." (Cooley, *Human Nature and the Social Order*.)

This sentence introduces a chapter on hostility by a noted psychologist. We who wholeheartedly accept the evidence of modern anthropologists against the validity of the racial purity myth are inclined to react vehemently against any theory of "instinctive antipathy." Knowing from the studies of sociologists that prejudices are inculcated, not hereditary, we agree that such misconceptions can be as readily conditioned out of people as into them.

Facts Must Be Faced

But the psychologist is not so much concerned with the undesirability of the condition he cites, as with the fact of the existence of the phenomenon of group hostility, or xenophobia. Similarly, the class struggle cannot be talked out of existence by the insistence of moral radical pacifists that it is a wrong thing, and ought not to exist. Every working stiff knows differently. We must broaden our morality to include more of the facts of our age—not refuse to accept those facts which conflict with our a priori morality.

"You cannot receive a shock unless you have an electric affinity for that which shocks you." Thoreau's epigram seems to point the way. Our morality must be developed to comprehend our own allergy to our opponents' hostility, and our ultimate responsibility for that very hostility. By comprehending the emotional needs of our society we may come nearer to an understand-

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PACIFICA VIEWS

Vol. 2

May 4, 1945

No. 48

THE SERVICE PHILOSOPHY

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS to this war have been extensively advertised as men committed to the Ideal of service. By and large, they are. Yet the difficulties experienced by both religious and secular administrators of the CPS System often cause them to challenge c.o.'s, individually and en masse, confronting them with tangible evidence that the work is not getting done as rapidly as might be expected from a labor force of "consecrated men." What is the reason for these difficulties?

Waves of crisis pass through the camps; tense situations develop, and more rarely a brief or incipient strike. Unrest and dissatisfaction are the rule rather than the exception, and it is often observed regretfully by those with a superficial knowledge of the CPS situation that "service" seems to be a forgotten ideal. Questions of "right" make precedence, while a spirit of revolt against "the system" makes talk of service seem a feeble echo, and the struggle against war has given way in priority to "opposition to conscription."

It is obvious that a large number of the men do not understand by "service" what the service committees intend them to understand and practice. The men have developed different intentions. This accounts for the basic psychological conflict between the church committees and the men.

Work Production

There are two kinds of men with poor work records in CPS. One kind includes men who either do not know how to work or are seriously unfitted for their jobs. On the whole, these are a small minority. The other class is made up of men who are known to have been hard-working and often highly intelligent producers before coming to CPS. They have already made their mark in the world, as teachers, writers, farmers, construction men: all callings are represented in this group. These men are neither lazy nor by nature inefficient. It is simply that CPS contains for them no incentive or obligation. They work under

compulsion, as conscripts. For them, CPS is not a channel for service, but a form of legalized submission to slavery imposed by the State, over which the glamor of "service" has cast a specious disguise.

Service rendered without thought of compensation is probably a natural expression of the ideals of most c.o.'s. But such service can have no rigid definition, nor can it be extracted mechanically as a legal requirement. "The quality of mercy is not strained." Inevitably, in the prosecution of a program in which "service" is obtained by threat of penalty or exile, a point is reached where the very term becomes a synonym of canting pretense. Neither compelled nor servile submission to injustice is identical with the spirit of service and no amount of pious platitudes can make it so.

Problem of Pay

Pay of \$50 a month for c.o.'s would no more solve all the problems of CPS men than it has removed the frustrations and maladjustments of men in the armed forces. But pay for c.o.'s would remove the taint of undemocratic discrimination, the slur of imposed penury, and much of the deliberate punishment of conscience in the United States. In refusing these men pay, the Government has hit below the belt, has degraded the American tradition of fair treatment to unpopular minorities. To justify this policy, officials have had to trade upon the cheapest sort of jingo condemnations of pacifists, pretending that the demands of "patriotism" at the Ku Klux Klan level are representative of public opinion. When such justifications are read into the Congressional Record, echoed by timid and pliant pacifist officials, and used repeatedly as evidence that the program must be continued without change, the initial degradation is entrenched as a settled policy, dishonoring the present and the future as well as the past.

In this framework of purpose, the service ideal of the church committees is largely irrelevant. The men will work as conscripts,

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PACIFICA VIEWS

Vol. 2

May 11, 1945

No. 49

A LOOK AHEAD

WITH the conclusion of the European war, the question asked of themselves by many pacifists becomes insistent: What needs to be done in the post-war world?

Hundreds of books could be written on this general subject. The specific task of pacifists, however, is confined to the unequivocal objective of a wholly non-military society, and it is here that they should focus most of their attention.

On the side of positive accomplishment during the war, there is the fact that countless people, to whom the stand of the conscientious objector was once unknown and even unimagined, now realize that many thousands of men have refused to kill or to support the war in any way. All things considered, Pacifism has had a surprisingly good press. And after the war at least several good books and doubtless many articles will be based on the anti-war movement of its decade.

Interpretation Needed

But pacifists and c.o.'s have obligations which go much further than simply "taking a stand." That stand must be interpreted to the public in constructive terms, and it must first be interpreted more coherently by c.o.'s to themselves.

Only a few non-pacifists have more than a hazy idea of why so many young men refused to go to war. The social significance of their act must be clarified. This, however, will require the development of some broad social theory by pacifists, in which the religious orientation is complemented by explanations comprehensible to the unchurched. It will involve a clear statement of how the major institutions of our society may be transformed from war-producing to peace-producing forces by pacifist action.

Speaking generally, such a program means the study and evaluation of typical institutions, deliberate cooperation with some of their tendencies, non-cooperation with others. It means the slow evolution of new institutions. In these areas, many differences

of opinion will arise among pacifists, but this is inevitable. What is important is conscious effort in this direction.

The CPS and prison experiences of c.o.'s should have dispassionate review. Here there have been numerous examples of both cooperation and non-cooperation. What were the results? Are the lessons applicable elsewhere? In general, through history, when have institutions been changed for the better by cooperation? By non-cooperation?

Public Attitudes

Two major attempts to affect attitudes have been sponsored by pacifists during this war: The Pacifist Research Bureau and the Peace Now Movement. One, scholarly and conservative, continues; the other, bold and challenging, was virtually suppressed. As an undertaking to establish soundly based social and historical studies in pacifist literature, the PRB may be the finest wartime accomplishment of pacifists in the field of education. Its potentialities for good cannot be measured. On the other hand, the courage of the Peace Now supporters in demanding integrity from Government at the height of the war's fury may some day have historic recognition. They really tried to stop the war. Such efforts should be studied for guidance in the future.

What about pacifist organizations: Do we need more or less? What are the factors of successful organization? How are those factors modified by the nature of the common objective?

Does the problem of church or organizational "sovereignty" prevent effective inter-pacifist fraternity, as it prevents international fraternity? If so, what can we do about it? Unity is a natural objective of pacifists. Some kinds of unity stultify and confine. Other forms of unity arouse and inspire. Which is which?

A look ahead suggests that all these fields of inquiry need investigation. In large part, our future success depends upon it.



PACIFICA VIEWS

Vol. 2

May 18, 1945

No. 50

THE BUREAUCRACY OF PACIFISM

THE Civilian Public Service system has become the bureaucracy of pacifism, replete with the blessings of church, the convenience of politics, and the vast institution of circumlocution and hierarchy. To deal with this unpleasant problem, let us begin with the somewhat obscure actions of the Founding Fathers of CPS, and then trace the frattures which no amount of new bureaus have been able to heal, but which they have been able to so wondrously cross-hatch. We are setting aside the glowing phrases, redolent with sacred maneuvering, using instead the mundane terms found in the world.

The Assumption of Power

A bureaucracy is a system of carrying on the business of government by means of narrow, arbitrary, and rather endless routines presided over by an official hierarchy and subdivided into a maze of often contradictory notating and forwarding instruments. The present bureaucracy of pacifism was instituted to process a governmental system for non-military conscription of conscientious objectors. It originated in the efforts of certain established committees who advocated it while claiming to represent the interests of pacifists. This assumption of power by the Founders led to numerous uninstructed acts in behalf of their presumed constituents—acts which have come to be virtual legislation.

So, in 1940, Pacifism, led by the historic peace church group, thrust a naive head into the expanding war bureaucracy of the United States. If there were any illusions on the part of the church groups (hereafter designated simply "church") that a simple working agreement would satisfy in their new relationship as an adjunct to politics, this was soon changed and in logical steps there evolved secretarial and directive and administrative procedures and personnel roughly complementary to those operating within the Selective Service side—the side we shall term "politics."

Here, in this division, came the first discernible hitch. The church in CPS had agreed to a unique role. It was not an appendage to politics—or so it has maintained—but in order to fulfill obvious responsibilities to both politics and its own existence (responsibilities to a theology higher than politics), it had not only to establish complementary bureaus, but also to supply some supplementary ones to maintain its peculiarly religious functions. This special bureaucratic growth, the result of the Great Compromise, was in the time-honored spirit. Has ever a government bureau been abolished when the problem of adding none to fill its place can be taken care of by adding two and leaving the old one intact, save for the addition of a rubber stamp, a new office, and maybe a library? (For an example see a copy of *Information*, house organ for a subsection of the pacifist bureaucracy, issued over a year ago, in which explicit directions and something like a map appeared for the benefit of those having business in the Philadelphia offices.)

Ends Frustrated

But aside from the decision that a conscientious objector should not be forced to kill, there was central, we should like to believe, in the church ideal of CPS the recognition that a partial satisfaction of one basic human need should be attempted. That need may be defined as some measure of progress—some deep movement toward greater happiness, an acceptable love, a religious growth. For it was recognized that to truly love another, man must be essentially happy; neither a bitter individual nor a bitter nation could qualify. Simple? But no wage was to be paid for work done, no accident insurance standards maintained, no protection for dependents whether father, wife, or child, no areas of intense social need provided in which to labor. The CPS System was dedicated to bring love into bud with scarcely a thought to the prerequisite con-

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PACIFICA VIEWS

Vol. 2

May 25, 1945

No. 51

"WAR WITHOUT VIOLENCE"

KRISHNALAL SHRIDHARANI provided a conceptually germinal focus for pacifist thought by selection of the above title. Pacifists, insofar as they are men of social conscience, denounce the idea that the slaughter of modern war is a human necessity. But because the social conscience demands action, pacifists have a relatively interminable "war" of their own on their hands—a battle against the entrenched psychological attitudes that make for political and economic fratricide among nations. It is clear that if pacifists are to be fully effective as a social force, they must become integrated as a group, a body of men deployed toward the attainment of certain objectives. They are not soldiers, for the word soldier has come to designate a man who has temporarily sacrificed his individuality on the altar of authoritarianism. The soldier has neither to think in creative terms nor otherwise exert his sense of moral values. Recruits in the pacifist army are not permitted this luxury of passivity, for their first obligation is to think while they fight.

Experience Needed

Pacifists share with a soldiering army the need for intelligent tactics, but the development of these tactics cannot be attained beforehand and then applied, like those of a field manual. While the techniques of destruction can be applied indiscriminately as to persons and social conditions, the techniques of construction and education must be adapted to the potential receptivity of each individual and the various social units. Pacifist techniques must combine with the organic growth of progressive tendencies in society (now often assuming the form of resistance to totalitarianism), and they must retain enough elasticity to allow full scope for individual interpretation and application. For this reason, unity of action among pacifists comes only with the passage of time and experience.

The socially activated pacifist wishes to influence society, not to sever connection with it. He tries, insofar as possible, to

reach the understanding of the dissenting majority. When, in 1940, the United States for the first time in history adopted peacetime military conscription, pacifists were primarily concerned with demonstrating their sincerity and comparative normality. They had been given a fairly sober "official hearing" by the State. It was natural that at such a time many should choose to cooperate with the Government, as evidence that they were men of conscience and not mere recalcitrants. Conscientious objectors would do "work of national importance" and not complain about the tasks set; they would seek a gradual transition to more significant work, at the same time identifying themselves as willing servants of society in labors for constructive ends. Though the Peace-Church-inspired program of no-pay, no dependency-allotments, did not pass without protest among CPS men, this condition was accepted and used by some as a demonstration of sincerity. So, too, with "hard work" or "Testimony" on the project.

A Gloomy Period

With the advent of Pearl Harbor, the desire of CPS men to show sincerity by uncomplaining acceptance of tasks assigned intensified. The majority of Americans were thoroughly convinced that the Japanese attack was without provocation. Opponents of U. S. involvement in war made patriotic statements such as that attributed to Senator Wheeler: "Well, we're in it now. The only thing to do is to lick hell out of them." Pacifist stock was low. It appeared that c.o.'s had no interest whatever in the protection of the society to which they belonged. And so CPS men hoed weeds with grim determination, often eager to "go the second mile" in an effort to show that they were good men and true.

This, too, was natural. But history has moved since Pearl Harbor. In the first place, the Pearl Harbor episode is no longer a simple illustration of policy infamy; our State Department's policy before the open-

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PACIFICA VIEWS

Vol. 2

June 1, 1945

No. 52

THE IMPLICATIONS OF PACIFISM

MODERN Pacifism is revolutionary because, at a time when the moral obligations of the individual man are rapidly being externalized in specific forms of conduct, and codified by the State authority, pacifists challenge both the fact and the import of this trend and set themselves moving in the opposite direction.

Many men who "tolerate" conscientious objectors do so because they do not understand the revolutionary significance of the pacifist stand. Indeed, it may be said that not a few pacifists are themselves unaware of the inherent logic of total war resistance.

Pattern of War

Pacifism is a break in principle with the modern war state. It is by implication a rejection of all the fruits of war, a condemnation of all the social processes which lead to and stem from war.

It is difficult to extricate war processes from peace processes because of the complexity of modern technology. Machines do not make war, but because men use machines in war, some personify the evils of war in machines. Money does not make war, but human greed makes money serve war and perpetuate it. The social and industrial pattern of the modern world has for so long been moulded by motives which lead to war that it is natural to suppose that the pattern itself is the cause of war. But men made the pattern, animated it with their desires, honored it with their pride of material achievement, and then, impressed by their creation, became its creatures—offprints of the war society evolved through centuries. The pacifist revolution in principle will become a revolution in practice as pacifists act to reconstruct the pattern made by these social processes.

Today, the world has been over-run by barbarism. This has not been nor is it a war between Good and Evil. It is a war between numberless petty barbarisms, concealed by high pretensions, and one great and unashamed barbarism which seemed to believe in itself. The side of the petty

barbarisms has won, and soon will win again. Meanwhile the high pretensions continue to hide or neutralize the moral weakness of the victors, who do not know that their own petty barbarisms will soon grow together and become that other "victory" which our "enemy" predicted.

Revolutionary Pacifism rejects both the unashamed barbarism of the vanquished and the petty barbarisms of the victors. Modern pacifists have no "side." They reject, too, the pretensions, because they are pretensions, and they eschew most of the familiar means which men have claimed will lead to the goal which the pretensions represent. The negative position of pacifists is clear. It remains for them to establish positive responsibilities for the new society.

Diverse Origins

Pacifism is far from being a wholly rationalized social outlook. It takes "all kinds" to make the world, and there are certainly "all kinds" in the Pacifist Movement. With some justice, it has been said that there is no Pacifist "movement" at all. But it is a fact that many thousands of people agree that war must stop, and, as a first step, they have themselves stopped. They will not fight nor help the fighters. In this, the conservative pacifist may be more radical than he knows. And the radical pacifist is undoubtedly more "conservative" than he knows. Pacifism may not be moving very much, but its weakness is a function of its diverse sources, which are themselves a reservoir of potential strength.

At first, the realization of the revolutionary meaning of the pacifist position brings to a man the feeling of having cut his moorings. It is hardest for those whose moral values have a predominantly institutional origin. Such men often gravitate to a curiously intermediate stage and establish a little institution of their own. Within this sanctuary they chant, "We are not revolutionary; we do not decry your prophets

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SAGE O'PINYON



W. WALKER
STOCK
DRIVEWAY

(SPRING ♦ 45)

THE CULTURAL RAG

(With Patches)

C. P. S. # 27
Orlando, Fla.

Vol. 1, No. 33
Sat. 1/6/45

ACTION ANTI-CONSCRIPTION

Real interest and active discussion was released at our Action vs. Peacetime Military Conscription meeting last Tuesday evening. Ten attended. We have two invitations to speak on PTMC, one at the Brethren Church in Winter Park the other at the Friends Meeting here in town. So we divided into two teams of five each and separated to decide our programs. The line up:

Brethren Church (Straight Pro Dissertation)

Definition & History - Fleming Perry
Best Physical Fitness? - S. Snipes
Political & Economic Ramifications -
- L. Kaufman
Religious & Educational Aspects -
- Van Whitley
Is it Real Defense? - B. Rowland

Friends Meeting (Debate)

Pro Arguments - Edwin Stephenson
- Leonard Sumner
Con Arguments - Jeremiah Cagley
- Joseph Parker
Moderator - Bard McAllister

(Understand that I have used "pro" here as pro our side; i.e. anti PTMC. "Con" favors PTMC.) The Brethren group is holding forth this Sunday night, the 7th. The panel truck will leave at about 7. We are glad for extras to go along. We would like for a few people to be in the audience to start the question period later if it should lag, add pointed questions otherwise omitted, give criticisms and comments to us later. Each group is taking along a packet of materials on PTMC as well as one hundred penny postcards and the names and addresses of important people in congress and public life for concerned members of the audience to write to. We want an ACTION slant to our message. It is our plan to use these initial occasions to feel our footing and polish our delivery to prepare to tackle less sympathetic groups among churches and other organizations in town.

CONSIDERATIONS

To bring to fruition our concern for a mutual, "camp" period of worship. Tomorrow are the factors for separation here; there would be great inspiration and gain in a period for sharing. One possibility: Hal and Ann Cope have a ten minute worship period each morning. For five minutes they read E. Stanley Jones' Abundant Living consulting his Bible References. Then five minutes of silence. Time 7:25 - 7:35. They invite any and all to join them. Best to meet on this soon!

To focus our concerns on racial matters. There is the possibility for work at Hungerford School. What it needs most is for someone to take the initiative to contact Mr. Hall to get arrangements under way. At Rollins College on February the 11th there will be an interracial conference to which we have invitation from Dr. Clarke. On New Years Day I visited Willy James Neal, home for the holidays from Fisk. He played me his newest piece on the piano, a Chopin concerto. He said favorably of his work there and his associates. He likes a course in Contemporary Problems and attends a weekly Fellowship evening with students from Vanderbilt and Searritt attending.

To lend a helping hand to interest groups that have been struggling to be born. 1) Music: We all felt pride to almost one third of the Methodist Choir (see) singing Handel's Messiah at Xmas our people. Four campers and two of the wives. Many more here at camp are interested in singing. McGaw and Ann Cope have been playing the violin and piano together evenings. Where oh where is the man that is going to take all this talent to organize it to make it more effective in camp and community. 2) Marionettes: How fine it would be to have a little hand-puppet show on hookworm. BRAD

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THE CULTURAL RAG

(With Patches)

C. P. S. # 27
Orlando, Fla.

Vol. 1, No. 34
Sat. 1/13/45



"Do not think of your faults, still less of others';
Look for what is good and strong;
And try to imitate it.
Your faults will drop off, like dead leaves,
When their times come." Ruskin

CONSCRIPTION POSTPONED

A short sentence in the Thursday Sentinel indicated that congress has postponed consideration of Peacetime Military Conscription indefinitely. This is good news. But not so good as to lead to complacency. We should be glad of further opportunity to do education of ourselves and of friends. Our two organized groups should continue to seek audiences. Mm Group 1 spoke at the Brethren Church to sixty people last Sun. Comments later: good but too long. I met with William Taylor (who will be out to camp on Wed. the 31st, by the way), Richard Lechner and William Fort in the Winter Park Rexall Drugstore last Tues. aft. We comprise the PTMC Committee of the Friends meeting. Action proposed: John R. Mott to speak to a public audience in a large hall such as the Baptist Church. Sponsored interdenominationally. I hope this recent announcement will not reverse plans.

TWO MORE LEAVE

Ken Roberts will leave tomorrow. He is transferring to the training school for mental deficientes at Laurel, Md. Good luck, Ken. May nothing interfere with that coming-next-July occasion you have anticipated for over a year.

Tim Haworth wires us this morning that he is accepting the Assistant Directorship of the Connecticut Juvenile Unit at Yale Med. Sch., New Haven. Good luck to Tim too. Always cheerful and positive, we have admired Tim because we felt there were a good many times when keeping that outer demeanor was not so easy. We note point 3 of Personnel News # P-42. Requirements: 1. Alcoholism is not allowed. 2. Sexual relations are not allowed. 3. Men are not expected to travel more than 50 miles from New Haven. This excludes NYC.⁴ No contamination of the countryside. Transfer proceedings begin.

Harold MARTIN TOO

The January issue of Box 96 says that Harold and Grace Martin are leaving Mulberry to open the new Mennonite Bookworm Unit at Gulfport, Miss. Our relations with them have been strongly pleasant and positive and we're sorry to see them go too.

FROM THE PAPERS

I call your attention to the recent Harpers and New Republic on display in the living room. Each has an article pertaining to COs. On page 7 of this week's NY Times is a release by Clarence Pickett of the Service Committee on conditions in Normandy as reported by Helga Holbek. Excerpts "...widespread devastation resulting from the fighting that followed the invasion, leaving towns in ruins, fields churned up or sown with mines, ruined harvests, villages and farms wiped out and populations scattered... in all the towns, from 30 to 90 per cent of the houses had been destroyed and virtually all the others had been damaged, particularly ~~thru~~ their roofs... housing one of the most difficult of all problems... Every room, every attic, every nook is filled to the last square inch with people sleeping everywhere, on the floor, on the tables, on billiard tables, without bedding or blankets. There are altogether hundreds of thousands of bombed-out people. They possess only what they were carrying on the summer's day when they had to fly." X... In the whole of this region, fields, sides of the roads, houses and even ruins are mined. There are thus almost every day accidents which are often fatal. Most of the harvest is ruined for this reason." BRAD

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PACIFICA VIEWS

Vol. 3

June 8, 1945

No. 1

Discipline of the Achievable

After the statement of the large church conference at Cleveland last January had been published in full, some of the debate as to how far the churches had gone in backing Dumbarton Oaks became clarified. But almost no notice has been taken of the most revealing paragraph in this church document:

Christians must act in situations as they exist (it reads), and must decide what God's will demands of them there. At all times they must keep the ultimate goals clearly in view, but they have equal responsibility to mark out attainable steps toward those goals, and support them. An idealism which does not accept the discipline of the achievable may lose its power for good. . . .

These churchmen are not alone in their fear of "visionary idealists." Shortly before their conference, President Roosevelt told the new Congress:

Perfectionism, no less than isolationism or imperialism or power politics, may obstruct the paths of international peace.

Perfectionists

With "perfectionist" the smear word of the moment and "a discipline of the achievable" guiding the Protestant churches, much that has been happening at San Francisco the last month takes on clearer meaning. Accounted for are the conspicuous absence of moral leadership, the most striking characteristic of the conference, and the impotence of liberal lobbies like that of the church. Those seeking to influence conference deliberations have been faced with the choice of proclaiming truths impossible of immediate achievement, or trying to change a word here or a phrase there—and most have chosen the latter. One high church official, asked why anti-conscription and disarmament issues were being ignored, replied: "After all, we are trying to work on issues where we have some chance of accomplishing something."

To Americans brought up in a culture whose chief God is success such a philosophy is natural and appealing. Martyrdom appeals

only where it has good publicity value, and Americans have no patience with a "futile idealism," actions being judged in terms of their apparent success or failure. There is something to be said for such "practical common sense," for certain compromises cannot be avoided, but to make the achievable one's standard for action in today's world means compromising to the point of impotence.

Conformity

The dangers of this shallow pragmatism far outweigh its advantages. In particular two of these dangers need to be noted. One is that those concerned with the achievable cannot allow themselves to "lose influence" by becoming stamped as too radical. Hence they co-operate with most of the areas of evil in the world in return for minor concessions in one chosen field of activity. John Woolman once noted the dangerous effect of such moral and philosophic respectability:

To conform a little to a wrong way (he wrote), strengthens the hands of such who carry wrong customs to their utmost extent; and the more a person appears to be virtuous and heavenly-minded, the more powerfully does his conformity operate in favor of evil-doers.

This has been all too apparent at San Francisco, where church criticism of Dumbarton Oaks has been so modified that what amounts to church sanction has been given to a world order rooted in power politics.

Second, those whose idealism accepts the discipline of the achievable are actually paving the way for a fatalistic cynicism. By declaring that insipid half-measures are all that can be achieved, the workability of long-range ideals is denied. Such philosophy reduces its exponents to the role of referee in clashes of power politics or war, and leads straight to such reasoning as that man is "inherently evil," and "there's nothing you can do about it."

We feel that pacifists need to subject the

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PACIFICA VIEWS

Vol. 3

June 15, 1945

No. 2

Weeping Over San Francisco

Delegates, consultants, and visitors at the San Francisco Conference impressed me for the most part as being in a state of auto-intoxication. Two principal ingredients make up the poison which has been soaked up so long that it is now self-generating: propaganda to the effect that it is the depravity of "other" peoples which force wars upon us, and a paralyzing fear of the future. Previous to the conference some religious groups had made general pronouncements on the cause and cure of war consonant with a minimum knowledge of history. But they apparently think it "perfectionist" in their role of consultants to challenge the theory of security which has been re-spun in the delirium of war, and which is the basis of all the proceedings.

The fact that much time and many words are spent discussing fairy tales about a world bill of rights, self-government and independence for colonies, economic justice as between nations, and other crucial problems that really do have a direct bearing on war and peace, in no way alters the fact that sole reliance for "maintaining" what is called the peace of the world is in the proposal that the comparatively "good" people will be militarily prepared at all times to take action against whatever "bad" group might arise.

Disarmament

A statement issued before the Conference by Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant groups, called *Goals for San Francisco*, under Point 7 says that "the Charter should provide a clear purpose and procedure for the limitation and control of national armaments, as collective security is established." (Emphasis mine.) Actually the word disarmament is mentioned twice in the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals and each time provision is made that "principles governing" it shall be in the hands of a Military Staff Committee. Professional military people are going to work for their own liquidation! Despite this, the cause for general thanksgiving was that the United States is now "internationalist" as opposed to "isolationist" because we are willing to plan for "collective" action instead of

putting our faith exclusively in "national" preparations. This change is supposed to indicate that we have reached a far higher ethical plane than formerly. Roscoe Drummond of the Christian Science Monitor said that the great difference between the situation when the Covenant of the League of Nations was being drawn and that which prevails now (and the great hope of the present) is that 25 years ago there were two great isolationist powers, Russia and U.S.A., and now they are both internationalist in their outlook.

"Never Again"

If these church people, editors, and others wistfully hope that collective security can mean weapons against the bad groups which are less than bombs and machine guns, no such naive ideas are in the minds of government spokesmen. A technical adviser to the State Department, emphasizing how indispensable is mass industrial production under modern war conditions, said that "this time the United States was caught without stock piles of strategic raw materials" but that "never again" must we allow this to happen. The speaker also had no illusions but that the German people would be full of revenge, and said that for a hundred years we must keep them down.

The resolute refusal to face common-sense facts regarding the reasons for a desperately insecure world, and the insistence on gathering our collective might around us to protect ourselves from an enemy which doesn't exist (except within ourselves), entrench more deeply the real causes of division and disaster. Would-be "realists" from some of the "idealistic" groups—churches, women's clubs, etc.—try to persuade themselves and the rest of us that by discussing economic and social causes of war we are making a "beginning" in the right direction. But it is not possible to move in diametrically opposite directions at the same time, and no signposts are lacking as to which road we are actually travelling. Empires are being undergirded and extended by strategic bases and

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PACIFICA VIEWS

Vol. 3

June 22, 1945

No. 3

THEORIES OF MAN



In a discussion of "Human Nature and World Peace," John M. Fletcher reports his investigation of the claim that war is the only possible adjustment of certain ineradicable instincts of pugnacity in the human species. (NEA Journal, May, 1945.) He polled the membership of the American Psychological Association on the question, and the answers received, as might be expected, were an almost unanimous repudiation of the doctrine that war is a psychological "necessity." But more important than this judgment of psychologists is Mr. Fletcher's interpretation of man's nature. He says:

The real truth about man's nature seems to be that it is statable only in terms of potentialities. These potentialities may and do manifest themselves in opposite ways according to the circumstances. Man can hate; he can also love. Man can kill his fellowman; he can with equally authoritative sanction of his nature risk life to save him. Hobbes saw only the wolf, never the Good Samaritan, in human nature, and so his disciples have always done, whether or not they have been aware of their discipleship.

THE PROBLEM

Now comes the great question:

What then is man? Is he beast or saint? Is he dust or deity? The answer must be that he is not predestined by nature to be either one or the other. Whether he turns out to be the one or the other will depend upon the influences to which he is exposed during the process of his development. The history of the world leaves no doubt upon this point, for we have had human saints and human brutes in all ages of the world's history. We have them today. And yet no one seems to have offered the theory that man has an instinct for sainthood. That characteristic seems, inconsistently enough, to be regarded as being made up of imported elements not to be found among the materials of human nature.

In the implications of these questions and suggestions is enough material for many books, and each one would be pertinent to

the problem of war and its elimination. Why, for example, does Mr. Fletcher think that there is no "theory that man has an instinct for sainthood"?

The answer lies in the fact that he is thinking in political terms, and the natural function of the political organization of the state is constraint—constraint of the brute in man. The community made up of saint-like men would need no government of a political character, no extensive machinery of constraint for evildoers; therefore, it is idle to look for a political theory of the saintly instincts.

ROUSSEAU

Rousseau's conception of man and his theory of reform—kill the tyrants, adopt a constitution, and establish universal education—approaches the idea of a community of saintly men; it postulates that given freedom, men will become good. But the fact is that they also—too many of them—also become bad. Rousseau's theory of government suffered from naivete, as the Hobbesian doctrine suffered from brutalizing assumptions. Both are false, because half-true.

Fletcher's explanation, that environmental influence determines whether men develop into brutes or saints, was suggestively anticipated by Emerson in his essay on war. Actually, Emerson goes further, proposing that intelligent individuals will reject undesirable influences, putting their trust in ideals. He said:

We have all grown up in the sight of frigates and navy yards, of armed forts and islands, of arsenals and militia. . . . This vast apparatus of artillery, of fleets, of stone bastions and trenches and embankments; this incessant patrolling of sentinels; this waving of national flags; this reveille and evening gun; this martial music and endless playing of marches and singing military and naval songs seem to us to constitute an imposing actual, which will not yield in centuries to the feeble, deprecatory voices of a handful of friends of peace.

Thus always we are damned by ap-
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PACIFICA VIEWS

Vol. 3

June 29, 1945

5

No. 4

A Pacifist Publicist Takes Stock

U. S. editors, stalled between advertising contracts and a public conscience, long have battled a mythical opponent—that highly intolerant, wholly illiterate and profoundly prejudiced being who wilts before truth—the general reader. Yet, like the little man who wasn't there, the All-American magazine buyer perennially turns up missing when a rumor is about to be run to the ground. "We don't dislike war objectors," editors confide, glancing furtively to right and left and lowering their voices, "It's those other guys—".

After years of futile search for the scapegoat, "the other guys", I beg to report that I have found nothing. The place where he lives is like the end of the rainbow, and the search is mysteriously haphazard.

Editors as a group are the C. O.'s greatest friends, albeit tried and untrue. They are very human beings, more educated and just as expedient as the next one. That they are "ready, willing, and unable" is unfortunate. But it is also fact.

Case History

A typical expose is the following letter from the editor of **Western Family** magazine. It was written shortly after I ceased to be an ordinary citizen and become a draft violator. I had been 4-E for a year, then 3-A, finally a "San Diego Writer, Nabbed by Police In Draft Dodge." The attitude of some of the press—including the newspaper on which I had once worked as outdoor editor—was bewildering. News stories appeared in eight issues but in none of them did the reporters find space enough to tell the whole truth. At the time, I thought it was the blackest attempt in modern letters to persecute a man. Since my release from prison, I have talked to nearly every man on the three San Diego papers. Each one would confide that I had a lot of "guts"; that he secretly admired me, that "they" gave me a rotten deal. Freedom of the press!

At any rate, **Western Family** wrote:

"We expect to use your story in an early issue, but inasmuch as we heard your name mentioned over the radio in

a rather delicate situation, we think it best to use another name. We feel that we must do this in order not to incur any unfavorable comment from our readers."

Again, that fabulous behind the scenes power who moves mountains, the other guy, the little man who's never there!

Change of Heart?

But today, after four years of tiptoeing experiment and cautious prodding to see if the object is dead, the press has begun publicly to shake hands with the C. O. Virtually every magazine by now has run feature stories about C. P. S. camps. None of them, true, have said anything. All of them have been stereotyped, strictly Pollyanna. They are the kind of news stories handled with a ten foot pole and have unconsciously "typed" the pacifist movement into a status quo entirely foreign to the actual situation. I have sensed an editorial silence since rumors that all-is-not-quiet-on-the-peace front have leaked out. More ginger experimenting will follow, and again the press will begin to roll. I predict that the truth will be told, the frustration analyzed, the injustices aired—sympathetically! Why? Because the editors are discovering that the other guy is, after all, okay, particularly when you get to know him.

Dr. Crespi's poll has been a great mediator in this. Other goodwill ambassadors are urgently needed though. More newsworthy names are a requisite, names of leaders, educators, religionists, interpreting the pacifist movement. And still more needed are names of men and organizations who in general have attacked the C. O.'s, but who have somehow been able to bring themselves to a tolerant statement. A letter from a soldier to a magazine, upholding the pacifist cause, is worth books on the subject by the authorities.

In my own diverse experiences with editors I find that the lower bracket magazines bear out Crespi's findings. Yet, exceptions frequently occur. The editor of a motor-

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PACIFICA VIEWS

Vol. 3

July 6, 1945

No. 5

Crime and Punishment

5

Copy

THE report of Supreme Court Justice Robert H. Jackson to the President, in which the former, as chief of counsel for the United States in the prosecution of war criminals, outlines the plans of the prosecution, makes clear that the trials will be conducted along ideological lines. Organizations as well as individuals will be tried, and Mr. Jackson says that the case of the United States against the major defendants "is concerned with the Nazi master plan, not with individual barbarities and perversions which occurred independently of any central plan." (New York Times, June 8.) The prosecution, according to his report, will be founded on "a well-documented history of what we are convinced was a grand, concerted pattern to incite and commit the aggressions and barbarities which have shocked the world."

Procedure

Organizations to be charged with war crimes include voluntary groups such as the Gestapo and the SS, "which have played a cruel and controlling part in subjugating first the German people and then their neighbors." Procedure will be as follows:

... "important representative members will be allowed to defend their organizations as well as themselves. . . . If in the main trial an organization is found to be criminal, the second stage will be to identify and try before regular military tribunals individual members. The individual member will thereafter be allowed to plead only personal defenses or extenuating circumstances, such as that he joined under duress, and as to those defenses he should have the burden of proof."

Obviously, it is difficult to criticize a plan founded on so searching a pursuit of "justice," and objection to such measures is almost certain to be identified as an attempt to "excuse" or deny the crimes of the Nazis. Nevertheless, the defects of the plan must be exposed. It is not enough to grant that punishment of evil-doers accords with traditional conceptions of justice in

the West. And it must be recognized that punishment, when divorced from a study of the conditions under which the criminal tendencies have developed, ceases to be justice and becomes mere vengeance.

What are the assumptions of the plan of the prosecution, as stated by Justice Jackson? First of all, there is the idea of "a grand, concerted pattern." No one would deny the existence of evidence that some such plot to dominate the world was in the mind of some Germans. Wild schemes of world conquest are to be found in the nationalist literature of every nation of potential military strength. The military high command of every power has detailed plans for the invasion of all its neighbors, simply as part of the "preparedness" routine. Even the myth of "Aryan Supremacy" found an advocate in William Allen White thirty years ago, when he saw in the Pacific area the possibility of an American Empire. The "manifest destiny" theme has had representation in American chauvinist literature for more than a century, and today the United States rules over millions of subject peoples—inhabitants of either territories or spheres of influence.

Great Britain, it could easily be argued, has for generations enjoyed practical world domination without any "grand, concerted plan," but simply through progressive conquest of backward peoples. "Britannia Rules the Waves" was during this period much more than a plan—it was a fact. And if some of the subject peoples were consulted, they might not hesitate to call it a crime.

The Offense

The real offense of the Nazis was that they threatened to treat the white race of Europe much as Anglo-Saxon conquerors have used the brown, black and yellow races for the past hundred years. And for a time, if the reports from the underground and "liberated" lands are credited, that is exactly what the Nazis did. Today, the Nazis are to be tried for wicked intentions that failed,

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PACIFICA VIEWS

Vol. 3

July 13, 1946

No. 6

5

CONSCRIPTION AND FREEDOM

This statement represents a point of view which is held by only a minority, even among pacifists. Those holding this position believe that military conscription is not only impractical but is morally wrong, and that they have no choice but to refuse all compulsory labor under a military conscription act.

The position of this group is not one of religious or philosophical absolutism. It is not a demand for perfection. But it is an uncompromising refusal to abandon the integrity of the individual at the behest of either Church or State. It is a respectful but determined insistence on certain fundamental human rights.

Political Obligation

The first thing which every individual owes to his country is the integrity of his own character. Therefore, freedom of conscience is a basic right of all men and cannot be denied without grave peril to the welfare of the nation and society as a whole. The experience of the past shows that freedom does not and cannot rest primarily on force, but has its real foundation in the character and understanding of people.

The cause of freedom throughout history has demanded struggle; victory is never won for men but only by men. The price of freedom is not only eternal vigilance but eternal struggle. Liberty is never achieved once and for all. It demands a continuous struggle and oftentimes it must be fought for in particular circumstances without compromise. The more absolute the denial of liberty the less compromise is possible.

The method of armed conflict cannot preserve the freedom already ours or advance the cause of freedom in society as a whole. The methods demanded by war can only restrict freedom and must ultimately lead to the tyranny of the state now popularly known as totalitarianism.

One of the major objections to modern war is that it demands conscription, and some see an even greater peril in conscription for military training in peacetime than

in war itself. War is vastly more destructive of life and resources than peace-time military conscription, but the actual fighting cannot continue indefinitely. On the other hand, the deterioration of moral values necessitated by peace-time military conscription becomes a permanent feature of national life, and is itself one of the most potent causes of war. Events of history prove that military training has never kept the peace.

In spite of the evidence of history, however, many of the proponents of compulsory military training are motivated by a genuine fear that national honor and integrity cannot be preserved without military power. The question of whether liberty can be defended without war is obviously a fair one and must be answered.

In the complex business of community life it is a manifest fact that organized tyranny cannot be overcome by soft answers or the opportunism of appeasement. Tyranny must be resisted. But this does not mean that it should be resisted by the methods of organized violence which are always determined by the very foe that is being fought. To adopt such methods is not only a logical contradiction but fails to accomplish the constructive ends sought.

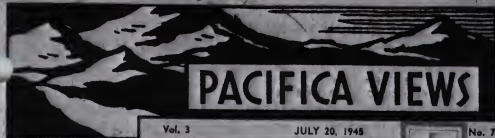
The Alternative

There are other ways of resisting aggression and absolutism by governments than those of armed force. For some time, many Americans have vented their scorn on the Germans for not resisting Nazism by refusing to submit to the Nazi rulers. If this method should have been used by Germans who had no access to arms apart from the will of the government, it is equally applicable to all other peoples. The refusal to cooperate with absolute tyranny is an effective and very practical means of resistance provided enough people adopt it. As a matter of fact, it can be successful with smaller numbers of people once it is understood.

Unfortunately neither Church nor State

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PACIFICA VIEWS

Vol. 3

JULY 20, 1948

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PROPHECY AND ALMS

Two dominant strains, more often antagonistic than compatible, have striven for recognition in the pacifist consciousness during this war. The alternative service problem has been the catalyst which provoked the solidification in the two tendencies.

The inclination for the pacifist in time of war to become the arch-protagonist of the way of charity has historical as well as personal roots. American conscientious objection originated primarily in Protestantism, including the hybrid known as Quakerism. In this nation of relative security and prosperity, the primary social obligation of the church has been to provide succor for the comparatively few victims of the fundamentally good system.

The Humanitarians

To a great degree, the experience of the Great Depression only intensified this conviction. The crisis of the thirties was met, not by radical innovations in economic institutions, but by ameliorative measures designed to check the tide of distress until the system could be made to work again. Sensitive men of liberal inclination could not fail to be influenced by this experience; many of them are the humanitarian objectors of this war.

The drive in the individual objector toward the Good Samaritan pole becomes understandable in view of the fundamental urge toward social justification of the man of good-will. The desire to be "socially acceptable" increases in tendency in time of war, when so many of the objector's own generation, however mistakenly, are willing to sacrifice all for the ultimate good of society, and when the need for work of compassion is fantastically great. Considerations of this sort were paramount in the conception of the privately administered alternative service program.

The pacifist as a prophet, that is, one who "speaks forth" and who as a radical gets to the "root" has not been seriously in evidence during this war. Nevertheless, competent observers discern in such evidence as the increase in the number of avowed

socialist-pacifists and in the accelerated concern of younger pacifist writers for the social and political implications of their positions a significant turn from the philosophy of simple charity. (See the section on "Conscription and Conscientious Objection", June, 1945, issue of *Politics*). To define and explore the nature of this prophetic function should be one of the primary tasks of pacifist philosophers who are also men of action.

Prophecy had its golden age in the period of disintegration of the Hebrew state. Having completed successfully a mass "walk-out" from the bondage of boondoggling work with straw and brick in Egypt, a wandering tribe of nomads, feeling itself definitely under divine leadership, committed an effective act of aggression upon a weak nation and settled down to build a rich and powerful culture.

As wealth multiplied, morals decayed. Larger and aggressive nations cast greedy eyes on the rich plunder available in the Valley of the Jordan. Internal decay, symbolized by the common failure to "do justly, love mercy . . . walk humbly" offered no adequate basis for national resistance. In a land where politics and religion had been traditionally one, a dangerous dichotomy was creeping in.

The Prophets

Upon the scene came a group of men, holding portfolio in neither palace nor temple, who made painfully evident the absolute relationship between cause and effect in the national behaviour. There was nothing "magical" about their predictions. Their calling was to practice major surgery without anaesthesia upon the unrighteousness of both the national state and its corrupt religious tradition. They were political realists who were yet firmly convinced that the malignant sepsis induced by the national disregard for high ethics could be checked. In varying degrees, they were socially unacceptable and a constant embarrassment to the reigning religious-political spokesmen. None of them could be said to have

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PACIFICA VIEWS

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July 27, 1945

No. 8

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THE ILLUSIONMENT OF OBJECTIVITY

Miss Libby Benedict of the Office of War Information, in an article entitled "The Disillusionment That Calls Itself Objectivity" in the May 20, 1945 New York Times, launches a broadside attack on Gertrude Stein's recent book, *Wars I Have Seen*, as being typical of the books which she fears will soon sweep the country in a wave of cynical despair as they did after World War I. She fears another inundation of books such as the *Farewell To Arms*, *What Price Glory?* and *Journey's End* of twenty years ago, the *Merchants of Death* and *Arms* and the *Man of the thirties*. I do not wish to present a brief of defense of these works, for it is perfectly obvious that they did not succeed in warding off a second world war. I do, however, wish to question Miss Benedict's implied claim of objectivity. Her denunciation of Miss Stein and her fellow "escapists" is of such vitriolic character as to be able to lay claim to any semblance of objectivity only in the emotional bias that is modern total war.

Miss Benedict lashes out most venomously at Miss Stein's statement that "War is never fatal but always lost. Always lost."

Could anyone . . . maintain that a war won against Nazi fury would nevertheless be a lost war? . . . One can pray every moment of the day for war's end. But to say that it must of necessity be a lost war, when the beast that has been unleashed in a nation is annihilated by avowed and sincere fighters for civilization—that is irresponsible cynicism.

War Ever Won?

Does Miss Benedict really believe that this war has been won? Can she honestly look at the bombed cities, the (to quote her own words) "harried, beaten, ragged refugees," the famine that has spread itself broadcast across Europe, the row upon row of white crosses in battle cemeteries around the world, and still say that this war has been won? Can she count the broken hearts and destroyed homes, the lives that have been smashed and twisted and torn beyond repair on both sides of the battle line, can

she face all this fairly and squarely and say that this war has been won? Does she not see that the seeds of totalitarianism which we are fighting have spread from a few nations until now they cover the earth? Does she not realize that the peoples of the United Nations, even we here of the United States have already begun to lose the very freedoms we were fighting for? Are the imprisonment of thousands in India, the lynchings in Italy, the race riots in Detroit, the renunciations of the Atlantic Charter portents of the final death of fascism? Are the secret conferences of Teheran and Yalta indications of a rebirth of democracy?

Franklin's Proverb

A century and a half ago, the sage old Benjamin Franklin said that there was no such thing as a good war or a bad peace. His proverb is far more true today than the day it was written. Today's total war has been so completely destructive of both physical and spiritual values that it can never be hoped to be won. "War is never fatal but always lost. Always lost."

Miss Benedict once more brings forward that hoary argument that war is but an evolutionary step towards the survival of the fittest.

Miss Stein's larger argument that the war brought an end to the nineteenth-century belief in progress and evolution is even more simply fallacious. Evolution depends on the survival of the fittest. This war showed that civilization was more fit than primeval lust. Civilization bled and let its children die by the millions, but it survived, and sent primeval lust sprawling.

Has Miss Benedict not heard of our Selective Service Act of 1940 which picks out the finest specimens of our American manhood and sends them forth to Europe and to Asia to be killed and maimed while it leaves the weak, safe and sound at home? Does she not realize that similar conscription acts, conscripting only the fittest, are in force in every major nation of the world today? Anthropologists tell us that the

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THIS IS WHERE WE CAME IN

Even in the lives of us younger fry there come times when we can say that within our own experience we have seen history repeat itself. In the years before 1939 we pacifists were faced with the apparent dilemma of giving succor to fascist aggression by refusing to support a war against it, or fanning the flames of war by denouncing fascism's evils. Now we are confronted with the same problem by the totalitarianism and imperialism of the Soviet Union.

A year ago American public opinion was pretty well swung behind the fanfare of the unity boys and the holy aura of Teheran into acceptance of the idea that the Soviet Union could do no wrong. We pacifists, in large number, bucked the tide and continued to point out that Russian socialism had degenerated into bureaucracy, and world revolution into ruthless imperialist aggression. Now there is no unity, and America is slowly and subtly being sold on the idea that sooner or later we must fight Russia. And we pacifists wonder how we can remain honest in our appraisal without pouring oil on the flames.

The Tight Rope

It seems to me that somewhere between the two unacceptable alternatives there is a thin tight rope which we can walk only with the most scrupulous objectivity of which we are capable. We must avoid singling out the Soviet Union as a special case, either for better or worse. We are, of course, not likely to fall for the Stalinist line, or even for the Trotskyist line that Russia, though a degenerate workers' state, is still a workers' state and therefore must be defended as the hope of the world. There is one piece of circumstantial evidence which to me is worth much direct testimony on this point, and that is the present acceptance of the Soviet Union by White emigres like Sorokin and Kerensky. Nor, perhaps, will we fall for the myth that Russian foreign policy must somehow be different from that of capitalist powers because a socialist state has no need for imperialism.

But, on the other hand, we cannot afford—and I am afraid that, the Stalinist press aside, a good many leftist critics of the

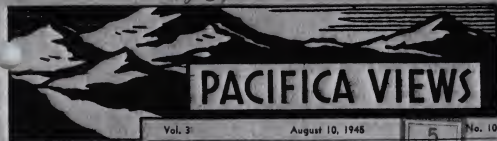
Soviet Union are really guilty at this point—to single out Russia, as others used to single out Germany, as an especially evil kind of aggressor, simply because her exploitation and expansion is more spectacular and powerful at the moment. There is nothing to be gained by spreading the impression that Russian foreign policy is any worse than British or American or French or Chinese policy at its worst (it may be a little less refined—or less hypocritical); or for that matter that Polish or Rumanian or Hungarian nationalism is so much to be preferred to Russian. The evil is exploitation and destruction of personality, not Russian exploitation and ruthlessness alone; the goal is freedom from all domination for all individuals, not alone from Russian domination.

The Soviet Problem

We must point out further, in no uncertain terms, that military or economic warfare against Russia, or preparation for it, will not alleviate but rather increase Russian expansion and accentuate Soviet ruthlessness. We must emphasize that there is no reason to expect that in an armed world based on power, Russia will renounce buffer states while others are establishing them, refuse to seize bases while others are demanding them, or demilitarize while others are adopting permanent conscription. We must also emphasize, I think, that economic pressure—such as refusing Russia food or capital goods as a lever to make her behave while Britain and America go their merry grabbing way—would offer no solution, and would be questionable moral strategy for pacifists, who traditionally have opposed the sanction idea and insisted on provision of the necessities of life on a non-political basis, to urge. At the same time, I think that without minimizing the evils of Russian totalitarianism, we can insist that, apart from militarism and imperialism on our own part or Britain's, there is no good reason why we should have to expect to fight Russia in the next 25 years.

While we are pressing this point that it takes at least two to make a fight, we are

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August 10, 1945

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No. 10

PACIFICA VIEWS

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SANCTION FOR WAR

RECALLING the death of the brilliant young physicist, H. J. G. Mosely, at Gallipoli in 1915, Justus J. Schifferes, a writer in the May Bulletin of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, reflects on the slaughter of many youthful scientists in the present struggle. Confronted with this incalculable cost of the war "in terms of humanity, science and culture," he falls back on the only available justification:

The dead we mourn and cherish, believing always that their sacrifices illumine the way to a better world for the living. It is perhaps unfair and even inappropriate to weigh losses to science on the scale of humanity's gains. Times of violence are always hazardous to men of thought. When Lavoisier was stupidly guillotined during the aftermath of the French Revolution, a famous scientist observed, "It took but a moment to cut off his head. It will take a century to produce another like it." Yet who would gainsay the French Revolution?

Ultimate Authority

There, in all its engaging simplicity, is the ultimate sanction for modern war: "Who would gainsay the French Revolution?" With a rhetoric as brief and self-assured as any fundamentalist bigotry, this scientific writer charges off the costs of this war to "humanity's gains." No sober gathering of "data," no dispassionate review of the facts—no science at all, contributes to his judgment. He simply announces his dogma, as though the scientific great had all simply shouted, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity!" and with the aid of this incantation produced without trial or experiment the truths of physics and chemistry.

Mr. Schifferes would probably be much aggrieved if an esteemed colleague were to condemn him for repeating the slogans of demagogues, and yet, only a little investigation convicts him of the charge. Here is the studied conclusion of one who is as much at home in the field of social science as doubtless Schifferes is in his. We quote

from Ortega y Gasset on both demagoguery and the French Revolution:

The real demagoguery of the demagogue is in his mind and is rooted in his irresponsibility toward the ideas that he handles—ideas not of his own creation, but which he has only taken over from their true creators. Demagoguery is a form of intellectual degeneration, which as a sweeping phenomenon of European history first appeared in France around 1750. Why then? Why in France? This is one of the vital points in the destiny of the West and especially in that of France.

General Revolution

The fact is that from then on it was the general belief in France—and this belief spread through almost the entire continent—that the only method of solving great human problems was the method of revolution, meaning by this what Leibnitz called "general revolution," the will to change everything at a single blow and in all spheres of life. It is thanks to this that that marvel, France, has arrived in such a bad state at the difficult juncture of the present [1941]. For that country has, or thinks it has, a revolutionary tradition, and if it is bad enough to be revolutionary, how much worse is it to be so, paradoxically, by tradition!

It is Ortega's conclusion that the political forms which resulted from the various revolutions of France were more authoritarian and counter-revolutionary than those of any other European country, except for interludes of a few days or weeks. We are under no constraint to accept this judgment blindly, but it does indicate, at least, that one serious student of history has found reason to "gainsay" the French Revolution. And for pacifists, Ortega has set a point of departure for intensive historical research. The myth of "general revolution" as a method of "solving great human problems" needs the kind of exploration that will make it intellectually impossible for an honest man to dispose of the tragedies of

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August 17, 1948

No. 11

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF MAN

SINCE last March, when Dwight Macdonald contributed to *Politics* his article on "The Responsibility of Peoples," discussion of its central theme has proceeded among pacifists and political war resisters with undiminished and even growing interest and fervor. It is generally realized that in setting this problem, Macdonald has placed his finger on a central issue of this historical epoch. In grappling with it, people feel that, somehow, they are "touching something 'real,'" and that if they can find some kind of answer to the questions which arise, they will have reached a plateau of understanding that is more than a merely intellectual conclusion. They will, they feel, be able to conduct their lives with greater certainty and to decide upon the issues of the present with greater intelligence.

The problem, briefly, is this:

The concentration camps and death camps of Nazi Germany were scenes of almost unexampled barbarity and inhumanity. These "crimes" were committed by a relatively small group of men who maintained iron control, through terrorism, over the great majority of the German people. To what extent, then, are the Germans, as a people, "responsible" for the horrors of Buchenwald and Maidanek?

Major Responsibility

Macdonald assigns major responsibility to the small group, the Nazis, but claims that their race purification program was irrational—merely "the gratification of neurotic racial hatreds." (*Politics*, July, '45.) He also holds the German people responsible to a lesser degree, for allowing the Nazis to gain political power. But—and this is a big "but,"—he maintains that we can blame the German masses only if we blame ourselves equally for our own failure to resist the growing tyranny of the State, for our passive acceptance of the impersonal crimes of "democratic" imperialism. We cannot charge the German people with responsibilities we have ourselves rejected. If they are guilty, so are we. The fact that Fascism was more "progressed" in Germany is beside the point and does not relieve other

Your attention has been directed before to the absolutely necessary pamphlet, **THE RESPONSIBILITY OF PEOPLES** by Dwight MacDonald, editor of **POLITICS**. This essay on war guilt is still available for fifteen cents from the author, 45 Astor Place, New York 3, N. Y. You can get ten for one dollar if you wish to send them to your friends. Also important in your study of this problem is **Victor Gollancz' WHAT BUCHENWALD REALLY MEANS**, available at some Friends Centers and directly from the author for five cents at 14 Henrietta St., W.C. 2, London, England.

—EDITORS, PV.

peoples from the obligation of stamping out its less mature forms at home.

In the July *Politics*, critics of Macdonald's article offer two major contentions: (1) that the death camps ought not to be explained simply as irrational expressions of race hatred, for that avoids explanation by invoking a demonic intrusion into the historic process; and (2) the German people ought not to be held responsible at all, for they lived in a pre-socialist society, and as working-class victims of the exploiter class, they were not even conscious agents.

Now manifestly, if the Nazis were mad (Macdonald's view), and if the German masses were helpless (the view of a critic), then no one is responsible! Such a conclusion, if accepted, would either end the discussion altogether or seem to justify a species of totalitarianism to purge the madmen and to "control" the morally impotent German masses. And this, interestingly enough, is just about what the United States is doing, although operating on the opposite hypothesis that both Nazis and masses are wholly responsible. It seems that absolute responsibility and absolute irresponsibility are rhetorical extremes, both of which call for the same treatment.

What is difficult, in this problem, is the (Turn to Page 3)

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August 24, 1945

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OBITUARY TO APPEASEMENT

THE DEFEAT of the National Government in Britain and the election of the Labor Ministry is probably the most hopeful event of the war years. For pacifists it marks the end of a government which has done the greatest of disservices to their cause. It was this government which led to the equating of pacifism with "appeasement," and even convinced many pacifists that the equation was true. As a result there is considerable validity in the charge that pacifism contributed to the growth of fascist aggressiveness, and that pacifism was ineptly aligned with the forces of reaction in the democracies.

The core, if not the majority of the defeated Parliament, have held office not only under Chamberlain but since the inception of the Baldwin ministry in 1935. They were responsible for the Conservative policy which gave tacit consent to the Italian conquest of Ethiopia; which tied French hands in the Non-Intervention policy, assuring Franco's success; and which designed a program of "appeasement" that ended with the fall of Poland in 1939.

Masses Duped

By using the anti-war sentiments of the masses, the Conservative Baldwin and Chamberlain cabinets were able to support the growth of fascism as a bulwark against the threat of Russian Communism. Eventually the Soviets reacted to this strategy and destroyed the Conservative hopes with the German Non-Aggression Pact of August, 1939. But pacifists long mistook the policy which aimed only at turning the future war from the west to the east as a policy which aimed to prevent war itself. Deluded by this naive view of Conservative intentions, pacifists approved a program which handed over thousands of Austrian and Czechoslovakian democrats, socialists, Jews and even pacifists to the mercies of Nazi storm-troopers. Somewhat shamefacedly this was justified as "peace at any price."

Never once did the Baldwin and Chamberlain governments make an intelligent effort to inquire into the roots of continental fascism, nor to devise policies which might

weaken fascism at its base. Although the actions of the Conservatives betrayed their feelings of guilt over the injustices of Versailles and the historic lie of the war guilt clause, there was never any initiative in admitting and correcting these mistakes. British diplomacy was finally reduced to abetting the German steps which righted wrongs only by new wrongs. While loans were made which increased the German war-making potential, no use was made of financial power to diminish the economic nationalism of the continent. German and Italian flaunting of the League of Nations was matched by the British with quieter but effective blocking of League action. And in making mild protests against Nazi cruelties to subject peoples and nationals, Britain did nothing to end the treatment of Indian colonialists which differed from that of the Nazis only in degree.

Naive Pacifism

It is repeated to the point of triteness that pacifism is not passivism. Yet the naive movement which supported Munich and its preliminaries was almost completely lacking in positive elements. Constructive conciliation is not 99 per cent concession, nor is "appeasement" necessarily pacification.

It can be questioned whether any program could have done more than delay the war after fascism had developed beyond a certain point. Possibly there are times when the weight of a long chain of events is so tremendous as to make a reversal of the historic trends an impossibility short of revolution. But there were untried resources with greater promise than the program of "appeasement." There was, for one, the power of example as a demonstration of British good will. A program of setting the Empire's house in order by doing justice to colonialists and renouncing the fruits of British conquests would have been too powerful a demonstration for even totalitarian censorship to have concealed from the Axis peoples. The League machinery was still existing for the righting of the injustices, real or imagined, which were associated with the Versailles Treaty, and which provided

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Vol. 3

August 31, 1945

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THE VICTORY OF VIOLENCE

ADUMBRATED by the sudden capitulation of Japan, the tendency toward analysis of the production and utilization of the atomic bomb will not be resumed with the urgency presented so long as the war was in progress. But it is nevertheless true that the military victory is of passing consequence in light of the final victory of materialistic violence which the explosion of the first two atomic bombs represents.

One of the members of the local press announced jubilantly that the "atom has gone to war," but on sober second thought the press generally admitted that this mysterious little warrior might present more problems than he solved. The public, in the main, was "fascinated and terrified," grasping the portent of the fact that the "greatest achievement of organized science" was also the "most terrible destructive force in history."

Half-Truth

In order to cushion the first shock of the news, our President distinguished himself by employing a monster half-truth in stating that "we shall destroy their docks, their factories and their communications." Obviously, his conscience suffers under the remembrance of the 150,000 human beings who happened to live in the city selected for the target and within range of the full effects of the explosion. There was no mention of the civilians who would be destroyed with the military installations.

Mr. Churchill found no evasions and rationalizations necessary. "Six years of total war," he said, "have convinced most people that, had the Germans or the Japanese discovered this new weapon, they would have used it upon us to our complete destruction with the utmost alacrity." Thus, in effect, we have out-Nazied the Nazis, and in this lies our ultimate righteousness.

Relief from the shock of the atomic bomb has come to the American people in two ways. Spurred on by cleverly designed government propaganda (and their own sense of guilt), they have found happy moments in visualizing possible peace-time uses for the discovery. Labor, Washington publica-

tion of a large group of unions, sees the possibility of "ultimate abolition of human drudgery." A second outlet has been an almost psychopathic preoccupation with the mechanics and effects of the bomb. But underneath various escapisms has been evident a surely dawning awareness that a "taboo" has been violated. And for sensitive men, this new despair almost outweighs the hope evoked by the absence after many years of declared war on the face of the earth.

Protesters

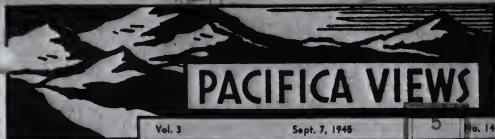
A smattering of pacifists and non-pacifists has taken occasion to protest publicly the use of this new "explosion." Time, August 20th, reports, in addition, that some American and British scientists refused to work on the project which produced the bomb, and that some of those who did hope that it would prove an impossible undertaking.

These protests seem to have been on the same grounds, that nothing can justify the carrying of the use of violence to this extreme. We would question the logic of those making the protest who are non-pacifist while retaining a fundamental appreciation of their willingness to speak out against the crime.

Hiroshima and Nagasaki are the logical end of the road which began when the decision to wage war was reached. (There is considerable irony in the fact that the war's most destructive weapon was used against the Japanese in the most inexcusable major war in America's history, a war for commerce and raw materials permeated by a vicious dose of racial hatred.) The destruction of these two cities differs only in degree from the destruction rained on the crowded cities of Germany and the highly inflammable cities of Japan by American bombers during the whole course of the war. The implication of the protest specifically at the point of Hiroshima and Nagasaki is that somehow something utterly novel has entered into the picture.

Perhaps it is necessary at this point to utilize a new concept, loosely embodied in the phrase, "military atrocity." If this con-

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Vol. 3

Sept. 7, 1946

No. 14

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FREEDOM VERSUS ORDER

A DISCUSSION of the questions raised by Dr. Brightman should be both humble and bold:—humble, because he, and we, seek light on the problem of social organization, a "mystery" investigated at length by every great thinker from Buddha to Marx:—and bold, because it seems necessary to reject as failures the familiar formulas which have been applied to the problem in the past. Readers are invited to take the humility for granted and to acknowledge the need for a fresh view of the conflict between Freedom and Order or "Security." Our brief suggestions are intended simply to open the discussion with an affirmative spirit.

We propose, first, that while constitutions have been devised, enacted into law and made to operate through many years, there has never been, and never will be, any precise statement of exactly how they work. Laws are crude instruments for the ordering of the complex and variable beings called human.

A constitution is adopted, and then into his legal convention flows the vast adaptability of human nature. Each individual makes his own unique adjustment to the regulatory or coercive aspect of the social order. It is the moral quality of these adjustments, taken in the mass, which determines the relative success or failure of the society as a field for free growth. Bad laws frustrate the moral intent of free men; good laws present the least possible impediment to intelligent adaptation to their provisions.

Function of Constitutions

While constitutions may specify in law the balance sought between freedom and order, they cannot in themselves transform the conflict into dynamic social equilibrium. For the desirable balance to be achieved, there must be moral integrity and intellectual breadth on the part of the leaders, and these qualities must be reflected in significant measure in at least a substantial minority of the people—those who set the cultural tone of the society.

Only abstract solution of the problem can be achieved by drafting a constitution. The actual solution will grow from the countless

instances of daily life in which individuals are obliged to take a position with regard to their relation to "society"—that is, to their neighbors, their village or town, or the State itself.

Our conclusion, then, is that the dilemma described by Dr. Brightman exists because the conflict between Freedom and Security is defined in "mass," "total," or "constitutional" terms, whereas the solution lies with individuals, momentarily and continuously.

Obviously, there is great danger of moralistic over-simplification in this proposition. To reduce the problem to a matter of "kindly" personal relations, or to invite everyone to become "a saint like me," would be evidence of serious irresponsibility. In its secular form, this simplification is Anarchism. In both cases, the conflict is resolved by ignoring one horn of the dilemma.

Saints and Anarchists

Saints are adequate in cloisters, and practical anarchists found the wilderness of the American frontier a natural field for self-government, but saints in cloisters did little or nothing to stop the crusades of either the twelfth or twentieth centuries, while the anarchists of the frontier soon resorted to vigilantism as a necessary "social control."

The saints and anarchists, like the political reformers and revolutionaries, have a formula, not a solution. They are partisans of a feeling without orientation. The writers of constitutions, on the other hand, are partisans of a plan. They offer the mechanics of change without the motive-power that will make the change a genuine social transformation.

A superficial fusion of these types is not the solution either, for the result would be merely a "do-gooder" who had neither the intellectual grasp of the political revolutionary nor the single-pointed devotion of the saint. The trouble with the do-gooder is not his propensity to do good, but his acceptance of standards of what is good to do from orthodox authority. The do-gooder never breaks with conventional patterns of

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PACIFICA VIEWS

Vol. 3

September 14, 1946

No. 16

IDEOLOGY AND CHANGE

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PACIFISTS sometimes express an entirely understandable impatience with the slogan, "Wars will cease when men refuse to fight them," presenting various reasons to show that "Conscientious objection is not enough." Such observations are usually prefatory to an attempt to expose the deep-lying causes of war in the social structure of the modern world, and to indicate steps regarded as essential to the evolution of a peaceful order.

Most of the pacifist theories of progress were listed by Dr. Jessie Hughan in "What Is Pacifism?—Again" (PV, Oct. 29, 1944). As their relative merits are not the point of this discussion, we shall not name or review them. What we should like to suggest, here, is that every specific program advocated as a means for bringing about the good society is a socio-political application of some ethical system involving judgments about the nature of man and the processes of social change. Unless these judgments correspond—at least approximately—to reality, programs based on them must end in failure.

Charged Words

Ultimately, every reformer, every revolutionary, every liberal, is a moralist with a doctrine of what is good for Man. The moralist's system will always reveal certain crucial concepts represented by terms evoking the dynamic emotional energy which translates his plan into action. In the present, such charged words include "exploitation," "underprivileged masses," "economic royalists," "totalitarians," "fascists," "militarists." Other terms, "saint," "detached man," "planned society," "free enterprise," "industrial democracy," "adjusted individual," are words charged with affirmative content. It would be easy to add to this list of words until a dozen or more systems of varying coherence were represented. But for the most part, people who use these words seldom trace their meanings back to the basic assumptions about man which they represent.

The value of such an analysis lies in its revelation that the current vocabulary of social criticism is a curious mixture of more or less unexamined symbols. Take for ex-

ample the conventional criticisms of Hayek's *Road to Serfdom*, as compared with its author's actual intent. C. Hartley Grattan in Harper's for July exposes the ideological idolatry of those who have forgotten, or never realized, the validity of Thomas Jefferson's counsel: "That government is best which governs least." Primarily, Jefferson was an educator, and his conception of man and of the learning process is contained by implication in this phrase. But as Grattan says:

Today we have a clamorous group to whom Jefferson's phrase has little meaning, even as a cautionary remark. They are of the persuasion that would constantly increase the range of the government's powers and responsibilities until all power and responsibility would be in its hands. They are the people who are deficient in that legitimate suspicion of government which is the mark of sound citizenship in a democracy. It is as an argument against them that Hayek's book has its greatest force. To that group it is, naturally, a blast straight from the infernal regions—the voice of reaction, The Enemy in person.

Nature of Propaganda

Mr. Grattan's own conclusion must be sought in Harper's. The above commentary is pertinent to this discussion in that it points up to difficulties involved in embracing any theory of social change which has been long promoted by mass propaganda techniques. Propaganda is not bad because it communicates ideas and judgments, but because it conceals the assumptions on which the judgments are based. It can easily lead to a moral relativism or neutrality which despairs of any progress. It short-circuits the mind, leaving out individual moral intelligence. Recognition of this, however, should not lead to a complete scepticism of social movements. Rather, what is needed is a sharpened sense of social reality, the recognition that, as remarked by Sir Frederick Eggleston, "It is probably true that the ideologi-

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SEPTEMBER 21, 1944

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No. 16

IT HAPPENED HERE

BEFORE Americans grow complacent about their moral superiority to Germans and Japanese in the treatment of minority groups, it may be in order to set down some of the facts about one government camp for conscientious objectors. We will need more such studies in the future if we are to evaluate our native fascism and to defend ourselves against it. This, we are told, is what the Germans did not have the sagacity to do. Hence Belsen, Maidanek and Dachau.

The week of my arrival at Government Camp I was asked to represent a physician at a camp director's hearing. The physician had been transferred against his will from a church camp and ordered to perform medical services. He refused, not only on grounds of improper transfer but also because he opposed conscription for a specific task in distinction to general labor conscription or "alternative service." He was found guilty and the record sent to Washington. Despite veiled threats of prosecution, his transfer to a unit where he was willing to use his professional training finally came through.

Sunbathing Forbidden

Several months later a man in my barracks was picked up by the sheriff and jailed on a charge of "lewd and indecent exposure." This man had been sick for months and was awaiting a 4-F discharge. He had been warned against sunbathing near the harrack, but since there were no women in camp and the highway was eighteen miles away, he persisted in his practice. We secured counsel for him and there was a full-dress trial in the county seat. The judge, in convicting him, cited precedents based upon exhibitionism in public streets. Funds for appeal to a higher court were not available. The man was hurriedly transferred to another government camp.

Still another man was incarcerated for "willfully and feloniously threatening with an axe." This charge was woven from the whole cloth. I was there when the alleged threat was made, as were others. We were all prepared to deny the charge in the event of trial. The man had used abusive language to the "threatened" foreman, however, and

after he had sat in the county jail for a month, the charge was changed to "disorderly conduct," a guilty plea entered, and a brief sentence imposed.

The reign of terror continued after I left Government Camp. One man was arrested for destroying government property after what was either an accident or a childish prank; anyway, the sort of thing that is overlooked under ordinary conditions. The foremen began to whisper that Marines in a nearby camp were coming over to "clean up things around here." One man who was sick was prosecuted for refusing to report for forest fire detail.

Lesson of Government CPS

Why did the government officials in charge not employ the Selective Service regulations for the maintenance of discipline? Because these regulations rested upon the Selective Service Act for their efficacy, and at least one man had successfully defended himself in Federal court against a "refusal to work" charge. The judges of this Federal district had taken pains to acquaint themselves with what went on in these camps, and they showed their repugnance of it in their decisions affecting "walk-outs."

The picture, therefore, is not all black. The judges in this one district know of the petty terrorism of the Selective Service System, and they have responded by decreeing probation rather than incarceration for many. The men in Government Camp understand the nature of the terror too, but they are not dismayed. They have walked out of the camp by tens and twenties.

It is no longer necessary to look to India for examples of successful non-violent resistance to tyranny. We can look right here in America at what has happened in the government camps. We need look no longer to Germany, either, to know what the face of the enemy is like or to know how fascism grows out of minor restrictions and petty tyrannies. The Selective Service people have taught us that.

George B. Reeves.



PACIFICA VIEWS

Vol. 2

September 28, 1945

No. 17

AMERICAN TRAGEDY



IT would be a pleasant duty to record that a world shocked and horrified rose to protest with one cry the use of the atomic bomb. That pleasant duty is not permitted by the facts. Rather the reporter of public reaction to this "greatest single scientific achievement in history" (Los Angeles Times, Aug. 12) must hold up a mirror to moral confusion. He must say that there have been the usual glib pronouncements from high places, voicing the obviously "appropriate" generalities; that a handful of religious leaders in the United States and England have condemned the new weapon; that a Gallup Poll claimed only 10 per cent disapproval of the atomic bombing of Japan; and that once more we are informed by scientific publicists that the immeasurable destructiveness of the bomb makes world peace "an absolute necessity." And the people? ... the people, as usual, are silent except for occasional echoes of the various "authorities" who have already begun the "chain reaction" by which public opinion is formed in the modern world.

Mercy and Force

Time rose to literary heights. The first atomic bomb was described as "a merely pregnant threat" whose horrible promise brought to the Japanese no less than to the United States the mercy of an ended war—"but mercy born of a ruthless force beyond anything in human chronicle." (Aug. 20.) Time supposes that this "demonstration of power against living creatures instead of dead matter created a bottomless wound in the living conscience of the race."

Was it a twinge of "conscience," then, which hinted that the recent Tokyo broadcast, reporting 30,000 more deaths as an aftermath of the bombing of Hiroshima, was a calculating Japanese bid for "sympathy"?

This "generous" suggestion occurred in an Associated Press summary of the report from Tokyo that after-effects of burning by the atomic bomb were so painful that some victims asked to be killed to end their suffering. (Los Angeles Times, Aug. 25.) Ultraviolet rays emitted by the explosive material were said to have doubled the death-toll

two weeks after the bomb was dropped on Hiroshima. The skin of persons within two or three miles of the explosion was turned bright red by these burns. Two hours later, blisters formed resulting in dropsy, often followed by death in agony.

Meanwhile, the Archbishop of Canterbury announced that the Christian conscience, and indeed, "every conscience," is "afraid and ashamed" of the atomic bomb. Deliverance must be sought, he maintained, in the Charter of the United Nations. He said nothing about being ashamed of the Charter.

Rader As Defense

A news report (L. A. Times, Aug. 25) relates that the Navy, ever alert, already has plans for an anti-atomic-bomb gun—radar-controlled. This weapon, it is said, can shoot down any hostile plane at a distance of 50,000 feet and operates automatically! Secretary Forrester is confident that it will "protect the Fleet against any possibility of atomic-bomb attacks in the event the United States ever becomes involved in war again."

This will be a comforting thought to those familiar with the fact that "the general blueprints for some such bomb are known to physicists in every land. . . . Safeguards against the possible use of the weapon by bandit nations must not count heavily on closed human lips." (L. A. Times, Aug. 12.)

Some slight encouragement may be derived from Time's report that a few physicists, when first invited to work on the development of the bomb, "refused the summons," and that many who did work on it "hoped that they would fail and that their failure would prove forever irrevocable."

But the popular stereotype of opinion is that the bomb is a "good thing" because it (a) defeated the Japanese, (b) brought peace, and (c) demonstrated American superiority (we did it). This is not to deny occasional qualms and conventional expressions of awe, nor the silent moodiness of the thoughtful. The significant fact is nevertheless that there is no effective group-

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DECLARATION ON THE PEACE

THE NIGHTMARE of war does not end with the dawn of "peace." In the sudden stillness when the guns sound no more, men and women look around them, taking stock of the present and the future. It is a world almost without faith, without hope and with very little charity.

These are the most beautiful things in life; above all other things they make life worth living. We talk much of "security" because we have no faith in the future; but, without that faith, real security cannot exist. Real security is only found in a community where men are not afraid of one another. Because we have so little hope we are beginning already to prepare for new wars. Charity has become a luxury that nations feel they cannot afford. Hardened by terrible sufferings, they seek relief in causing suffering to others, and call it justice.

We cannot condemn or blame those whose hearts have been hardened, least of all those whose sufferings have been much greater than our own. But we can consider, and ask them to consider too, whether we or they have been without blame. "Let him that is without sin among you cast the first stone"—that is still the answer to all who judge their fellow men. We can also ask ourselves, when we condemn any nation for the crimes of its government, whom we include in our condemnation? Do the people of the United Nations really wish to inflict punishment on all Germans, including those who have suffered in Hitler's concentration camps? Can we talk of "just retribution" against children as yet unborn?

The Miracle

But charity should teach us more than this. Once in the Middle Ages a man called Gilles de Rais was condemned for the torture and murder of children in Brittany. He was executed, but before he was led to his death he asked the parents of the very children he was said to have killed to pray for him. The miracle is that they did so. Those simple Breton peasants were sorry for any man with the weight of so much guilt on his soul. They forgave him because of their great charity; and our own hearts tell us

that they did well. Charity does not mean being kind to our friends, or to people whom we think good. It is a harder thing asked of us—kindness and forgiveness to those whom we believe to have done wrong. The practice of charity brings peace and happiness to our own hearts, which is what we mean when we say that "virtue is its own reward." A world that could practice charity would reap the same reward—peace and happiness.

Treatment According to Needs

Kindness is the best wisdom. The more complicated the world becomes, the more ignorant we are, we may find it harder and harder to know the truth, to sort out the rights and wrongs of disputes among politicians. But if we are determined to treat people according to their needs, and not to be judges of their "deserts," to consider how we ourselves would wish to be treated, and not how other people "ought" to be treated, our complicated world presents a very different picture. Instead of a series of intellectual problems which we may well feel to be beyond our mental powers or our knowledge, we have a single moral problem which only requires goodwill and a little common sense. "Only"—that is the difficulty. Goodwill is not always easily felt or practiced. "Common sense" is not always very common. It is still a hard way; but it is not something utterly beyond our powers. Learned historians are still arguing about the trial of Gilles de Rais. Was he guilty? How far was he guilty? But ignorant peasants settled the main thing that mattered hundreds of years ago. If he was guilty, he had their forgiveness. Guilty or not guilty, the miracle of love replaced learning with a wisdom of its own. If Church and State had known the same wisdom, many a criminal might have lived to repent and make reparation.

And that is the real meaning of "reparation." It is a voluntary action—making amends, so far as one is able—for harm done in the past. "Reparations" wrung by force from people may have some material value to those who are supposed to benefit

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PACIFICA VIEWS

PATH OF THE DISSENTER

QUESTIONS posed by Dr. E. S. Brightman in the latter portion of his letter (PV, Aug. 10) are as follows:

Granting the right of the conscientious objector to act in the interests of freedom and so against the military security (according to the popular view), the question still remains: Are there any limits to freedom? Is unconscious objection justified in the name of freedom? What, exactly, is conscience? Are there any socially necessary limits to freedom?

These questions are so far-reaching that it will be necessary to set up some delimiting definitions if we are to reach any conclusion at all.

First, then, we may adopt as the meaning of "conscience" a suggestion by the late Franz Boas, for years the dean of American anthropologists. In the *Nation* for Aug. 27, 1938, he asserted that the sense of moral responsibility, as expressed in the words "must" and "ought," is a universal feeling common to all nations and races. While men may and do differ on what is "good" or "bad," they all distinguish between the two. It is this sense of moral responsibility, this faculty of judgment between good and evil, which we shall call "conscience." Conscience, then, is a fact given in human experience. Its origin is another question.

Confusion on Freedom

Another passage from Dr. Boas will be useful in considering Dr. Brightman's questions. The former wrote:

It is one of the curious phenomena of our time that intellectual and spiritual freedom is confused with social and economic freedom. . . . It is . . . intolerable that the state should force a person to actions that are against his intellectual or spiritual principles.

For the purposes of discussion, and not as a practical admission, it may be said that wars are fought to preserve "social and economic freedom," and often in the name of "spiritual freedom." On the ground that participation in war would destroy his spiritual

freedom, the conscientious objector refuses to become a soldier. He may also claim that war is destructive of the forms of social and economic freedom. Here he comes into conflict with the State, which requires his service to secure the social and economic forms of his society. While traditional liberalism would reject this requirement, the theory of society which maintains that social and economic freedom are the highest good would demand that he fight. Thus the issue is one which hinges on the definition of freedom. In the first case, the individual defines freedom on his own terms—within certain limits; in the second, freedom is defined by the State.

Inalienable Rights

The conscientious objector insists that there are certain inalienable rights belonging to the individual which the State may not, whatever its apparent needs, take away from him. The State may not demand that he kill, that he support the military, or do anything that is clearly related in motive to furthering the war effort.

And so the question arises: How far ought this opposition to the State continue? Should the c.o. be allowed to be "unreasonable"?

Confusion on this question usually results from the failure to distinguish between obligation to "the people" and obligation to "the Government." A man may feel he is serving the people best by opposing the Government. Such a man, obviously, has concluded that the Government no longer represents the people, or that it represents the folly rather than the interests of the people.

His opposition to Government may be in certain specific relations, as in the rejection of war, or it may be from the anarchist conviction that all government is evil. This is the equivalent of saying that he wishes to improve government, or that he wishes to abolish it. As an evaluation of anarchism would be a large subject in itself, we may restrict this consideration to the idea of improving government through opposition to certain of its specific acts.

In the case of war resistance, the c.o. who understands the implications of his position

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October 19, 1945

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HOW PREVENT THE ATOMIC WAR?

BERTRAND RUSSELL, famous philosopher and former pacifist, has contributed "How to Avoid the Atomic War" to the October Common Sense. His thoughts deserve consideration because of the desperate urgency of the problem and because of his reputation as a student of human affairs.

Mr. Russell says, "There is only one way to prevent [the atom bomb's] use, and that is to prevent war." He quickly disposes of the arguments that the bomb can be outlawed by international agreement or that its destructiveness in itself will "persuade everybody of the folly of war." Nor is he more hopeful of international machinery of the kind prepared in San Francisco:

Machinery that would prevent wars between major Powers is easy to invent on paper, but no major Power will agree to it: 90 per cent of mankind would rather be dead than sensible. National sovereignty is the obstacle to all schemes for world peace, and I do not believe that the atomic bomb is sufficiently powerful to explode this obstacle, except perhaps in some indirect manner.

Imperialism the Answer?

From this pessimistic observation, Mr. Russell proceeds to outline how war may be avoided in an "indirect manner." Coming from a man with Mr. Russell's experience of the United States—he was refused a teaching position in New York City after Mayor LaGuardia and the board of education had accused him of being a corrupter of youth—it is startling to note his conclusion:

I see only one hope of the preservation of civilization and that is a vigorous and more or less imperialistic policy in the United States during the few years' respite before other Powers possess atomic bombs. These years should be utilized to build up, under American hegemony, such an international authority as the nations would create voluntarily if they did not prefer death to clear thinking.

By means of "a vigorous and militant championship of democracy in all regions

outside the Russian sphere of influence," Mr. Russell believes that a new League "could be quickly built up, containing the English-speaking world, the Western hemisphere, Western and Southern Europe, India and China." These vast areas, under American leadership, would sacrifice their sovereignty, "particularly in matters concerning armed forces and foreign policy." They would also sacrifice liberty;

The most urgent need of the world at present is government; liberty must, for the present, take second place. Mr. Russell is hopeful that so overpowering an array of righteous force would move Russia toward cooperation and mutual tolerance. He proposes that the United States perform the balance-of-power function for the entire world that Britain maintained for Europe in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

New Role for U.S.

The role proposed for the United States, by an Englishman, is the same Henry Luce and Henry Wallace have proposed in their different accents. If it is a valid program, it has been given terrible urgency by the atomic bomb.

One questions whether it is valid on the following grounds:

1. Is the United States capable of sponsoring a democratic world government? An affirmative answer presupposes that we have solved our own problems of self-government.
 2. What assurance is there that American imperialism will be more benevolent and peaceful than Britain's has been?
 3. If to secure the undoubted advantages of world organization, more personal liberties are sacrificed, is not the risk of their permanent departure as serious as the possible destruction of the human race?
 4. Will not Russia conceive the Anglo-American world league as directed against her? And thus hasten rather than delay a third World War?
- These questions and others need to be answered, but Mr. Russell has performed a service in stating his case cogently and bluntly.



Vol. 3

October 26, 1946

No. 21

WE AND THEY



CORRESPONDENCE in the *New Statesman and Nation* (July 14) concerning alleged "atrocities" in Britain's Prison Camps in India stir the natural tendency of pacifists to say, "You see, it is not only the Nazis; other peoples—democratic peoples too—are guilty of such crimes." D. M. Sen writes that the enormities in these camps approach those of Buchenwald and Belsen:

Torturing to the point of death is as common in, say, the Andamans as it was in Buchenwald. There is a courtyard in the Midnapore Central Prison where "politicals" are flogged while the other prisoners are made to stand in a circle round the whipping "triangle." The horror of the scene, the dripping blood, the doctor feeling the pulse and timing the lashes so that the agony of the victim is prolonged—these things haunt one's memory for years afterward. . . . In the backyard of another prison in Dacca, in full view of the neighbors, a young student, suspected of underground sympathies, was put in a sack and was ordered to walk. When he stumbled, he was beaten till he died with a broken skull. These cases have been reported in the Indian press, and will in no way seem like revelations to Indians.

The Nazi Technique

British rejoinders to these charges excuse them as "occasional" acts of cruelty, maintaining that they were the exceptions, whereas with the Nazis, cruelty to body and mind was a definite policy. There is some truth in this defense. A review in the *N S & N* for Aug. 11 tells the story of the extermination of the Jews, as described by the last Jew to escape from Poland:

The Nazi technique had a simple pattern; first, make the Jew into the image of the devil you allege him to be, then destroy the devil. Deprive the Jew of soap and clothing; then say he is filthy and ragged. Starve him; then say he is of inferior physique. Infest him with vermin in a ghetto; then call him diseased. Hunt him; and then charge him that he has a hunted look. Hedge him

with special regulations; then declare him a criminal, till, at last, he commits the ultimate crime of being alive at all. In Lvov the Jews went through these degrees of moral and physical destruction. They hoped, at first, that the murders and beatings up on the bridge outside the town and in the sandpits were the familiar pogrom. That, at least, had an end. But they were mistaken. This time the pogrom was not a storm but the icy climate of mass murder. The Orthodox Jews with the caftans and earlocks were the first to die in the sbattoir of Belzec. Then followed the Jewish workers, rushed to the incinerating chamber as the war drew to an end.

Parallels in Other Times

Where shall we find parallels in human history for such cold-blooded diabolism?

Possibly in Australia, where, without the doctrinaire rationalizations of the Nazis, British colonists virtually exterminated the native Tasmanians, leaving not one alive after 1876. The English *Chamber's Encyclopedia* (1906 Edition), notes briefly: "It is probable that there were never more than 5000 of these people. It is certain that they were a very inferior race, and it was a logical, if cruel, consequence of their contact with Europeans that they should disappear off the earth."

Alphonse Bertillon, the French anthropologist, tells in *Races Sauvages* how this "logic" operated in practice:

To achieve such a brilliant result, the English did not stop before any kind of cruelty. They premised by offering £3 for the head of every adult, and £2 for that of every baby Tasmanian. The better to succeed in this chase after the miserable native, the English brought with them aborigines of Australia, the great enemies of the Tasmanians, and used them as blood hounds. But this method was found to work too slowly. Then a cordon was organized, or rather a band, selected from Colonists, and

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PACIFICA VIEWS

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November 2, 1948

No. 22

THE CONSCRIPT AND THE FERAL MAN

THEOLOGY, at least of the Christian variety, has found it necessary to assume or argue that even an omnipotent and omniscient God cannot deprive human beings of the power of choice. That, I think, is the meaning of the importance which theological systems have placed on arguing the freedom of the will against determinism, or on attempting to reconcile free will and determinism in the same system. What concerns us here is not particularly whether freedom of the will is metaphysically true, but rather the importance which has been ascribed to it. As a social phenomenon that importance means that even God himself cannot be thought of as doing what the state does under conscription—depriving men of the power of choice—without at the same time robbing them of that which is distinctly and uniquely human.

What I should like to do is to compare the conclusions of natural science with those of theology. If we ask what it really means to be human, the anthropologist and the psychologist will tell us that what distinguishes the human being from the lower animals—what constitutes his "soul"—is his consciousness of self. If we press them further, they will tell us that this uniquely human self-awareness is the product of conflict situations where the individual is confronted by alternative courses of action and has the possibility of reflecting upon them and choosing between them.

Characteristics of Humanity

To be human, and not animal, from the standpoint of the most naturalistic social scientist, is to possess, first, real alternative courses of action between which one may make moral and intellectual choices, and second, the mechanisms through which these choices may be made. To be deprived of either is to be deprived of the possibility of being human at all.

The natural scientist will generally refer to the grasping capacity of the hand and the development of the cortex of the brain as the physiological bases for distinctly human behavior. We know what happens to an individual when the physiological mechanisms by which choices are normally made are not

present or are defective. The brain may be biologically undeveloped, and we will have an idiot, a creature not only devoid of self and the capacity for choice, but even more devoid than some of the higher animals.

We also know what happens when the psychological mechanisms are absent. Given a normal nervous system, consciousness of self depends upon conscious thought; conscious thought depends upon the development of language, the use of symbols, within the person; and the development of language as an instrument of thought, choice, and selfhood depends upon experience in a social environment. We know of cases of "feral" men, people who have grown up in complete or near-complete isolation from human society; and though many of the tales of such creatures may be fictitious, we know that the human animal apart from society is not human at all. There are no Tarzans in real life, developing language, thought, choice and selfhood in a social vacuum.

Deprivation of Choice

What is not perhaps so obvious is that "feral" men, sub-human beings, may develop not only because the mechanisms of choice are absent, but also because they are deprived of the possibility of making choices. To deprive an individual of opportunities for moral and intellectual choice within society is also to make him by that much a "feral" man, a sub-human being, and to rob him of self-awareness and human individuality.

This is exactly what conscription does. Perhaps no policy of conscription, imposed upon a mature individual, can so rob him of selfhood as to make him a completely "feral" man. Probably not even the most rigid smothering of self-assertion in childhood could alone produce a completely non-human being. But insofar as conscription is effective, insofar as conscription is tolerated as a political practice, its effect can only be to destroy that which can ultimately be the only final goal of any social policy—the function of human choice, the human self, the human soul.

In passing, we might say that the "choice" to which the anthropologist or the psycholo-

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No. 23

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THE UNCOMMON MAN

THERE is a note in Herbert Hoover's recent demand that confidence be returned to the Uncommon Man which will please many forgotten men in old CCC camps. If the c.o. does not meet this prescription, who does? Indeed, if this was not the whole idea of Civilian Public Service from the outset, what was? A traditional temperament in pacifism welcomes the tute that the common man's main chance, if he only knew it, does lie in the speedy reduction of his more common qualities. For this undertaking the CPS camps, as a repository of unusually Uncommon Men, have seemed an ideal laboratory.

When we think how widely this theory is held, it is troubling to read over the Washington record. We must first accept the fact that the backbone of CPS has been the contract between the State and the Alternative Service Worker. Speaking in the large, the c.o. has wanted privilege of conscience, the State an exaction of duty, and between the two there was reached a certain impasse of agreement. A few Uncommon Men have contracted for a lesser exaction in exchange for fewer privileges (prison), but the main population of the camps believes in and defends the contractual idea.

The Bad Bargain

With these thoughts in mind, something of the concept of the c.o. as Uncommon Man inevitably suffers as the years 1940-45 are reviewed. The plain fact was that during those years the very ministry of Uncommon Men sought to drive a contractual bargain and was badly bilked on its own terms. This painful story, beginning with Creative Pioneering and a gentlemen's agreement, ending with Minersville and the sudden recriminations of the churches, has been reconstructed only too often. Unfortunately the opportunities to write a nobler ending for it still pass by in Washington. In example, one of the premises of pacifist strategy has been the belief that Congress could not possibly be interested in reviewing the treatment of c.o.'s. Yet in the Spring of 1945 a lobbyist found two members of the all-important Senate Military Committee who believed c.o.'s should be paid and given useful

work. He got the agreement of the Committee's chairman to appoint an investigating group if a third member would join in. And the reason for which this group never went to work is that pacifists administering CPS were, as it turned out, frankly afraid to raise questions of principle lest privileges be lost, and were thus unwilling to cooperate in interviewing two Committee members who might well have yielded to a full-scale lobby. Even closer at hand is the phenomenon of the Winstead Bill, which the pacifist ministry has allowed to become the crux of CPS demobilization. If this bill had ever been brought to a test, as it never was, it would have had not the shadow of a chance of passing Congress. But to avoid an indefinite recitation, let us merely register a doubt that on his present record the c.o. as strategist is a suitable candidate for Mr. Hoover's Age.

Civil or Military?

In his social phase, it is often argued, the c.o. is not primarily a strategist anyway, but a philosopher. He dwells with the larger dynamics of public welfare, and only incidentally seeks to enter the fray. Among his speculations in 1940 was that which perceived a basic difference between civil and military authority. It was natural, in the formula of 19th century liberalism, that he sought the greater security of civil liberties, and writing from a truculent Congress the present law. Today there arises a shocking piece of irony. More than 4,000 men are in civil prisons, twice that many in civil labor camps, and the clue to their freedom has yet to appear. At the same time, the War Department has made it privately known that all c.o.'s in Army prisons under military law will be free by February. There are evidently certain times when traditional attitudes of militarism become mingled with the structure of civil government in an amalgam known as the totalitarian State. At such times hypocrisy, brutality and inertia achieve a complex magnitude which gives the simple dux bellorum, by comparison, an air of childish innocence, and the meaning of civil liberties disappears in a roar of inscrutable ma-

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No. 24

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SERVICE AND THE STATE

Last week a high official of Selective Service told me that he would be watching with interest after the war to see how many men on their discharge from CPS engage in work of social significance or relief work abroad.

P. C. French—General Letter No. 130, August 23.

FROM many quarters comes the opinion that in the post-war period pacifists should prove their ideals by assisting in measures to ameliorate the more flagrant inhumanities of the Big Three war-world economy. The persuasive appeal inherent in this opinion runs the gamut from conscripting such performance via the State to volunteering it via religion.

It is further apparent that probably the bulk of this opinion springs from a platitudinous notion of pacifism: namely, that a withdrawal from social responsibility in one area necessitates an enlargement of social responsibility in others. This is a trap into which hundreds of pacifists have fallen.

Nature of Conscript Service

Bureaucratic pacifists have fallen. CPS is the prime example of social responsibility conceived in terms of conscript service to a State, whose greatest power—conscript service—is the keynote of its war policy, against which policy pacifism is supposedly a testimony. True, we live in an age of suicidal contradictions, but we are under no obligation to make a virtue of our weakness. It is understandable that certain religious organizations may be tempted to maintain a constantly narrowing area of influence by emphasizing the service potential of work camps. In this attitude they pay tribute to the State.

For the sake of a concrete reference, let us term as "post-war CPS" the concept of some form of overt testimony of assistance to the State by pacifists. Let us relate this idea to plans for armies of occupation, for vast armies of reserves, and for peacetime military training to maintain the status quo throughout the world. Under these conditions is not the logic of CPS "service" in-

escapable? In another part of the picture exists the various organizations which are constantly devising and revising c.o. foreign relief programs to be carried out as the supreme achievement of CPS. Post-war CPS may well permit a limited area of "choice." A pacifist may be required to choose (1) to volunteer for foreign relief, or (2) to volunteer for national relief as the criteria of his sincerity. Whichever his choice, the c.o. becomes the humanitarian window-dressing of the totalitarian State.

Clash of Responsibilities

Are personal integrity and social integrity (the heart of any social sense of responsibility) contradictory? To anyone who expects to do more than vegetate the answer is "No." But both integrity and creativity insist that the fundamentals of our civilization be re-examined and that, without further "service," we formulate principles for action by persons and society. As one small step towards clearing the path for such a search, let us review the pacifist approach to one aspect of social responsibility—i.e., our withdrawal from active participation in war.

A nation participates in a war not primarily to protect but to win. Therefore, national victory is a social responsibility. If to inaugurate active war gives assurance of victory, to be an aggressor nation is a social responsibility. Thus World War II was a social responsibility not only from the point of view of the United States but also from that of Japan, Great Britain, Germany. War, then, is a clash of social responsibilities. Or if one set of social responsibilities is "right" and the other "wrong," what is the standard for such a moral judgment? Obviously not each participating State. Yet it is in each State that social responsibility, at least in war, is supposed to rest.

The whole point, of course, is that social responsibility as conceived of today is nonsense. It is totalitarian nonsense. In America the atomic bomb is the finale of social responsibility. Do pacifists lack social responsibility because they opposed World War II?

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LIMITS TO FREEDOM

HENRY GEIGER has tried honestly and in some detail to answer the questions which I posed regarding the socially necessary limits to freedom. In *PACIFICA VIEWS* for October 12 he brings his answer to an end.

To speak frankly, I am deeply disappointed by what seems to me to be the essence of his reply to my question. It is found in the next to the last paragraph on page 4 of the last article. He says: "Get out of a situation of which injustice has become an intrinsic part."

This seems to me to be the most extreme despair of any right solution. It is not facing the realities at all. Is it not clear that our whole social order is one "of which injustice has become an intrinsic part"? If we turn from CPS camps to hotels, restaurants, universities, factories, churches—wherever we turn there is injustice as an intrinsic part of the order, injustice to the poor, the minority race and creed, the discenter of every kind, and also to the conformist who suffers the greatest injustice by joining cheerfully in the unjust order and aiding its injustices.

Escape impossible

In the presence of total injustice, all that Henry Geiger can say is to flee from this or that particular injustice. His cry is, "Get thee to a nunnery, go!" But even that is impossible. Total escape from total injustice is not only impossible; it is wrong.

What I want to know, and have not been told, is how a free man can live in an unjust order without himself either being defiled by the injustice or demanding that he receive an ideally just treatment, which no one can expect until the whole order is cleansed. Is a purely individualistic conscience conscientious enough? I think that Geiger has exaggerated the difficulty of social philosophy and underestimated the futility of a piecemeal and individualistic philosophy.

Edgar S. Brightman.

Boston University.

Editorial Comment:

Possibly an expansion of what Dr. Brightman calls "the essence" of Geiger's reply will clarify the intent of the reply and remove some of the former's objections.

It is quite true that it is impracticable or futile to seek total escape from all unjust situations. However, there is a margin of freedom in every society, where choice is possible. Here, in this margin, the future is created.

The boundaries of this margin are not hopelessly obscure. CPS and the federal prisons are full of men who have determined to spend their lives in non-acquisitive pursuits. Some will enter fields of social service, others are planning various enterprises conceived as production and distribution for use. The moral energy of their lives will not go to strengthen institutions which, as the instruments of coercion, self-interest, greed and partisanship, stamp our society with the patterns of injustice.

Pioneers of Freedom

The greatest creative spirits of history have been men who broke with the established patterns of conventional institutions. Where they could, they inaugurated new forms of conduct, in which they embodied their positive energies, and which served to release the energies of others. Thoreau refused to pay taxes for the war with Mexico. Gandhi and his followers withheld support from the economic processes which were impoverishing India. Martin Luther, and before and after him, a host of heretics and non-conformists, broke with the established Church and made possible the freer atmosphere of the Reformation.

The fact that most reform movements finally lose their inspiration and end by succumbing to the same rigidities which in the beginning they set out to replace is beside the point. That cycles of social change have a beginning, a middle and an end is a fact of history. The important thing is to keep

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PACIFICA VIEWS

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November 30, 1945

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Copy

ON MICE AND MEN

FROM the beginning of this war, conscientious objectors have been subjected to a barrage of advice on the discreet way to handle public relations. The "discreet" way, according to this advice, has always been Keep-It-Quiet.

Whence came this doctrine that c.o.'s should be quiet out of fear of the forces they might arouse against them? It came from two sources. The two groups who rightly favored a policy of timorous quietude for c.o.'s are the government, primarily concerned with effective prosecution of the war, and that school of pacifism which bases its opposition to war on the level of personal salvation.

General Hershey gave expression to the government's attitude early in the war when he told the Senate Military Affairs Committee, "The conscientious objector, by my theory, is best handled if no one hears of him."

"Keep It Quiet, Boys!"

The historic peace churches, not interested in the political implications of war resistance, have favored a similar policy. With them it has been agreeable that the public should occasionally hear of c.o.'s as long as the impression left was not controversial. Enjoying the special privilege of operating their own CPS camps, the churches were afraid that knowledge of non-cooperation in CPS would result in loss of this preferred status. Above all, news of unrest was to be kept out of the press.

Thus the true nature of the CPS system was successfully smothered beneath a blanket of silence. The American Civil Liberties Union in its 1945 annual report stated:

Publicity affecting conscientious objectors has been on the whole favorable, notably stories . . . describing the guinea-pig experiments. . . . Any touch of the heroic about a conscientious objector makes news. But publicity as to the injustices inherent in the system has been difficult to get, even in liberal journals.

A few notes of heroism about conscientious objectors offering themselves as guinea-

pigs, a few more of c.o.'s filling in where labor shortages threatened the continuation of mental hospital programs, and a few stories of "smoke jumpers" parachuting to forest fires—these alone made up the public picture of the government's program for handling war objectors in the Second World War. This inadequate account helped the government maintain the impression that it had been successful in solving the insoluble problem of the c.o. in wartime—that it had given substantive recognition to conscience and that the objectors themselves were satisfied.

Straight Talking Desirable

Anyone close to CPS today knows that this is not true. He knows that it is merely the frosting on a rotten cake. No one is aroused by such stories, since they have nothing to do with resistance to war or the need for a radical transformation of society.

Yet this discreet method of handling the public relations of war objection seems cowardly to many thoughtful men in CPS camps and prison. They feel that the American people should have an accurate account of the government's policy. If it is "privilege" they enjoy, they do not want it doled out secretly. If it is "persecution" they suffer, they do not want this done secretly, either. Unlike concentration camp inmates in Nazi Germany, they still have freedom to speak out, and most of these men sense that a policy of frightened quietude can do no service either to themselves or to the preservation of democratic rights.

What are likely to be the results if CPS men speak out sharply in reply to occasional press attacks against their failure to work, their failure to obey orders with enthusiasm, their "fleeing" the camps? What might they expect if they ignored Selective Service's advice that they remain quiet about demobilization for fear of the veterans' organizations? In terms of our long-run aims, such a policy would be favorable. In the short-term, it might be highly unfavorable.

It should be clear that any system so convenient to the government as CPS is not apt

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ATTITUDES TOWARD GOVERNMENT

THREE points of view toward government characterize the thinking of the politically-minded man of today: socialist, anarchist and conservative. Since these attitudes toward the political order have direct bearing upon the prospects for peace, they deserve consideration here. In political science "state" and "government" are often distinguished, but for the purposes of this discussion no distinction is made.

Socialism in various forms has swept Europe and is making progress toward power in Asia. Although conservatives in the United States viewed the New Deal as socialistic and Franklin Roosevelt is said to have admitted filching planks from socialist platforms of thirty years ago, few socialists had illusions about the New Deal. The measures adopted in Roosevelt's first term were revolution insurance; government responsibility for relief grants, extension of social security, encouragement of collective bargaining, NRA controls of business and labor. The public works programs finally broke down under business opposition, and were in fact made unnecessary by the most ancient work program of them all, production for war.

Socialists and Government

Socialists traditionally have believed in the withering away of the political state and its replacement by economic and social organizations, which would carry most of the functions now allotted to the executive and legislative arms. But because they sought to work through the ballot, they became involved in orthodox politics to the point of success in municipal and occasional Congressional elections. Because they believed in good principles rather than good men, they usually avoided support of old parties which would have involved a watering down of their policies. It is likely that the one divergence from this practice—support of the Progressive Farmer-Labor ticket of LaFollette and Wheeler in 1924—cost them heavily in national influence. But socialists had already lost prestige through the fiasco of Russian communism. There, it became evident, the state, far from withering away, had become

an agent of tyranny different in kind, if not in degree, from that of the Czars.

The dilemma of socialism today stems from the failure of Russian communism to provide a better life for its citizens, and the efforts of democratic socialists everywhere are absorbed in proving that the means they propose will not lead to the same end. In the United States this takes the form of proposals for cooperative enterprise, quasi-public corporations modeled upon TVA, regional and world federation, machinery for full employment. But the question still remains in the minds of people: will these changes in attitude and method produce the regimented, centralized state?

Deflecting the State

The anarchists say they will, and they find themselves in the company of the conservatives at this point. Insofar as they have an attitude toward government, it is the less government the better. They view all ameliorative means within the present system as revolution insurance and suggest widespread civil disobedience as a method of destroying the state power. Accepting Randolph Bourne's dictum that "War is the health of the state," they are conscientious objectors. Their optimism concerning human nature leads them to propose voluntary associations of workers, farmers and consumers to carry on the basic requirements of production and distribution of goods. To the extent that these functions require coordination and direction, their organizations are not dissimilar to those proposed by socialists. But they would keep such organizations responsive to the local group by a minimum delegation of authority.

Anarchism flourishes in periods of deep distrust of government like the present. It has permeated the thinking of collectivists even though its effect is yet to be glimpsed in the present political scene. Like early Christianity, it places emphasis upon the individual human being and forces him to reflect upon his relationships with his fellowmen. Occasionally anarchist thought flowers in a Henry David Thoreau, who

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Vol. 3

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THE PEACE GUILT

THE time is now propitious for assessment of the guilt of the peace and some tentative judgment as to degrees of responsibility.

In the Far East, it is Murder (by proxy), Inc., with which we must deal. Apparently discovering more value than we care to admit in the Japanese concept of "face," we carefully erase our military label from the arms we supply to the Dutch, English and French in their bloody struggles to liberate the colonials. "Liberty" ships have provided the lifelines from the "Arsenal of Empire," as Harry Paxton Howard characterized America in the last *Progressive*. Mr. Howard draws a telling comparison between our actions in erasing the label from military equipment and the practice of gangsters in the thirties of filling serial numbers off their weapons or treating fingers with acid to destroy tell-tale lines.

Writers of our hypothetical indictment of those guilty of the peace should rightly charge that these evidences reveal conspiracy to wage aggressive war to save the profits of the Master Races.

Crime in Europe

In Europe, primary evidence of the peace guilt is our involvement in a French dominated syndicate which may be labeled Murder (by default) Inc. Germany, says the *London Economist*, is a "vast derelict human slum."

Latest press reports place the ration at 1345 calories daily. A personal letter reveals that mothers grind up potato peelings bought from restaurants and bake them on a board to provide a substitute for bread, and children vomit regularly in the mornings because of radical digestive difficulties. Hitler, in the category of the bad, killed quickly and painlessly with gas, in the best American penal tradition. Americans considering themselves good by definition, kill slowly, with lingering after-tones, after the fashion of the Gestapo. Death by hunger is not only physical death, but as Dr. Ancel Keys in the University of Minnesota experiments has reemphasized using C.O. guinea pigs, induces a warping and twisting of every human quality of the victim.

These, then, are the irrefutable evidences of the guilt of the peace. The crime: murder

by proxy and by default. In one case, we have provided American arms to the murderers and turned our backs, hands washed, while the deed was done. In the other, we refuse to organize for peace even remotely as we have organized for war, and defaulting on the elemental human obligation condemn a nation to lingering death. Winter is here, and the munitions ships which could have become the food ships lie rusting at anchor in great lines in Suisun Bay. Rationing is over, and American hens are admonished to lay less eggs or go to the chopping block.

No Prevision

Absorbed in the travesty of jurisprudence called war guilt trials, we fail to set up machinery for immediate trial of the criminals of the peace. But peace guilt trials, from every point of view, are infinitely more logical than war guilt trials. They are "prospective" in nature rather than retrospective. There are no confusions of fact brought about either by history or the passions of war. What happens is before us, painfully imprinted on every conscience is a nation possession both a high literacy rate and press freedom.

In spite of the existence of evidence for an indictment, no trials will be held. Those who lose the peace can only be tried when they have also lost a war. This involves a tortuous process whereby the bastard, Undeclared War, undergoes a christening and achieves the respectability of the legitimate son, Declared War.

But it is still necessary to delve into the subject of degrees of responsibility for the peace guilt. Is it possible to blame it all on our leaders, or must we necessarily return again and again to a consideration of the responsibility of peoples?

If any jurisdiction could be found to try those guilty now, any capable lawyer could convict our leaders in short order. Because they have greater knowledge of the facts and control the handles of power, theirs is the major responsibility. In the absence of a court in which they may be tried, the only

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MR. SMITH COMES TO TOWN

WHEN we arrived at the school building which the State Supreme Court through use of the rare "peremptory writ" had forced the San Francisco School Board to permit the Payroll Guarantee Association ("Ham 'N' Eggs") to use for a speech by Gerald L. K. Smith, six hundred pickets were circling in orderly lines in the streets.

They were being watched carefully by a detail of 200 policemen, including a tear gas squad, who had been deprived of Sunday dinner, as Mr. Smith cleverly pointed out in his address, so that the right of free speech would be protected in America. The policemen did not appear enthusiastic over their opportunity.

A couple of turns around the building and three or four conversations with pickets, all carrying signs stating unequivocally that "Smith is a fascist," convinced us that many of the demonstrators were neither communist affiliated nor dominated. Two members of the German-American Anti-Fascist League, heavily accented and middle class outlook, asserted that 75% of their members were picketing. A nurse had come to picket on her own because she "did not want fascism in America." Workmen from a communist dominated waterfront union and raucous students belonging to American Youth for Democracy openly admitted communist affiliation. It was obvious that these latter groups, both in hearings before the School Board and in the demonstration, were leading the fight against Ham 'N' Eggs à la Gerald L. K. Smith.

Senior Citizens

By two o'clock the auditorium was half-filled with feeble "senior citizens," whose balding heads in the pale yellow light gave eloquent testimony to their ages. The presence in quiet watchfulness of another hundred uniformed policemen gave a sense of security.

Soon the curious in addition to the serious jammed the hall, and the definite tenseness erupted into a great if somewhat quavering shout when the movement organizer strode in from the wings and opened the meeting with a tremendous cry of "Ham 'N' Eggs—Good Afternoon, Everybody!"

Before Mr. Smith was brought in, this smooth, hearty organizer exhorted the faith-

ful for 45 minutes as to the virtues and plans of the movement, and climaxed it all with the passing of shoe boxes for a collection by a flying squad, average age about 65 years. Another financial appeal during an intermission in the main address (he had to put on a dry shirt; the heroic motif, as when the gladiator rushes to the wings to procure a new weapon) brought a sea of arms into the air, dollar bills in hand.

We are, of course, interested in analyzing Mr. Smith, his following, and his loyal opposition, in terms of the parallels evident in the early days of National Socialism. The parallels are there.

Comparisons

1. Mr. Hitler found a popular cause in national regeneration of the German people. The entering wedge for Mr. Smith's righteousness was his support of the cause of free speech as against the communists who would deny it.

From there, he went on to paint a dismal and fearful picture of the economic insecurity facing these pathetic old folk. Their response to his message was automatic and electric.

2. Mr. Smith, like Mr. Hitler, had an eye for the dramatic. The chants of the pickets were clearly audible outside, and Mr. Smith managed to look like a man who had run the gauntlet to get into the hall. Perhaps it was Rauschning who wrote that in the pioneer era of National Socialism, Hitler would appear hours late and mud-spattered at political rallies in the country simply to heighten tension in his hearers. Mr. Smith referred continuously to the 600 pickets outside ("MOB-ilization For Democracy"), and reviewed the glorious days of persecution and victory for his forces when not even 30,000 pickets could prevent a meeting in Los Angeles.

3. Like Mr. Hitler, Mr. Smith could play on the communist threat, singling them out in the audience every time they broke out in abortive heckling. He referred again and again to the international bankers, not defining them but carefully, unlike his Nazi prototype, omitting any reference to Hebrew ancestry.

4. There was the typical appeal to the
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JUDGMENT OF ALTERNATIVE SERVICE

THIS article is for the purpose of entering a judgment against Civilian Public Service—the great pacifist project of the late war, created to provide conscientious objectors an alternative to entering the armed forces. Now, as the four-year men are at last dribbling home, one by one, releases in their pockets, it may be said that the demobilization of c.o.'s has really begun and that, in a few months, CPS will be a thing of the past. It is time, therefore, for a final estimate of this "noble experiment" of twentieth century pacifism.

CPS, we submit, was wrong from start to finish: wrong in initial conception; wrong in the steps necessary to its establishment; wrong in its continued operation; and wrong in even its long-delayed and ignominious demise.

Evil Fruit

Its effects have been evil, its good accidental. It was a system shot through with compromise, opportunism and expediency. Its ideals were the circumscribed dreams of sectarianism, and even in failure it wore the unmistakable marks of the commonplace. It brought a spurious badge of courage for the timid, a mask of piety for the unstable, a shelter of paternalism for the weak. It successfully hid the larger issues of the pacifist struggle from the rank and file of conscientious objectors and created a multitude of petty, personal controversies which left the great majority of men in a state of moral fatigue. And it did these things in the name of the Good, the True, and the Beautiful.

CPS thwarted rather than assisted the cause of civil and religious freedom. This judgment is concerned with realities of practice, not verbal justifications. First of all, CPS was the result of an agreement between Government and several religious sects acting as corporate bodies, under which certain privileges were accorded those bodies. The terms of the agreement affected all conscientious objectors, many of whom were in complete ignorance of the commitments made in their name. Whether they

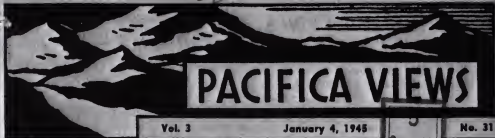
wished it or not, private organizations interpreted their democratic rights and individual aspirations to Government authority. Whether they wished it or not, c.o.'s were committed to work for nothing for the duration of the war, and, for a time, were expected to applaud this condition as evidence of extraordinary "generosity" on the part of Government.

As a result of this arrangement and the promotional arguments in its behalf, some draft boards were enabled to claim, quite falsely, that only men belonging to recognized pacifist sects were entitled to alternative service. Patriotic groups like the American Legion could maintain that c.o.'s were the beneficiaries of special privilege. Economic pressure could be exerted to force individuals into the Army. The claim that civil rights were violated by the "slave labor" feature of CPS could be refuted by pointing to the fact that the religious groups had invited the conditions that had been established and were administering conscription under them without any effective protest.

Moral Aims Obscured

The moral aims of war resistance were obscured by endless administrative difficulties and contradictions. The bitter pill of conscription was covered with a thin saccharine wash—the myth of the "volunteers." The men's lives were ruled by a three-headed hydra of Government representation—Peace Church agents, Selective Service officers (pseudo-civilians), and Technical Agency men. As often as not, these three arms of authority were at cross purposes. For four years CPS camps have seethed with turmoil over the relation of these cross-purposes to the men's own purposes—their rights, conveniences, needs, and personal convictions. The war years were largely spent by CPS men in almost incessant conflict over trivialities—issues which loomed large in the warped context of the System, but which will be remembered without enthusiasm.

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January 4, 1945

No. 31

THE PRISON PROBLEM: CONTINUED

MANY conscientious objectors who have "done time" in federal prisons are calling for the abolition of the prison system. One parolee just out of McNeil Island sent a post card to me with these words written in large red letters: "Reform Hell! Abolition." The problem in my mind is: "What is meant by abolition?"

The conviction has been growing increasingly on me that it does very little good for c.o.'s who have been in prison to cry out simply for the abolishment of prison. The problem of what to do with those who violate laws in society just cannot be dealt with that easily. To say negatively that the prison system must be abolished without offering alternative ways of dealing with the problems which have brought prisons into existence is as naive as it is to demand the abolition of war without offering better ways of meeting social conflicts.

Reasons For Abolition

Those who demand the abolition of the prison system must do so for one of two reasons. First, they can do so because they believe there is no need for law in society, and thus no need for segregating for a period of time those who break these laws, or at least for having these persons under supervision of some sort. I do not mean to imply that laws per se are sacrosanct. Some laws are good and some are not. But I personally disavow the position of the anarchist who claims that all men are naturally so good that some kind of organized regulation in society is unnecessary. Prisons of some sort have always been a part of this social regulation; however, this does not mean that prisons will continue to be what we know them as today.

The second reason upon which a person can base his conviction that prisons should be abolished is that the prison system today fails completely, and another type of social regulation machinery must take its place. At this point, one who demands abolition must describe what he means by the prison system today. Certainly county jails and state institutions cannot be put in the same

category as federal prisons. There is a world of difference. But if the entire county jail, and state and federal prison system is to be abolished, then the one who makes this demand takes upon himself the responsibility of describing a theoretical system which would do better. This is a mighty hard job for one who probably doesn't know too much about penology in the first place. But there is something to be said for this position. In fact, it is at this point that those who have been in prisons can make the most important contribution to the problem of prisons in society.

Innumerable Evils

I believe there are innumerable things the matter with the prison system. I know this from my own experience and from the experience of other c.o.'s who have sent me accounts of their own experiences. There are a few of these released c.o.'s who favor abolition of prisons because they are frankly anarchist. Those men who favor abolition for the second reason, however, have not been able as yet to outline what type of institution would supplant today's prison system. It is easy to ask for the abolition of the county jail system. Even some of those persons connected with the Federal Bureau of Prisons do this, asking for a more enlightened system in its place. Sanford Bates, Bennett's predecessor as Director of the Bureau of Prisons, in a book entitled *Prisons and Beyond*, says he wants the abolition of county jails.

The fear in my mind is that if c.o.'s spend their time trying to describe a more perfect prison system to supplant the present one, they will be repeating what other penology theorists have been doing for years. After all, the theory behind the present Federal Bureau sounds good. It is the way the system works in specific instances that troubles c.o.'s. Not that theoretical improvements cannot be made in the Federal Bureau, but that those working in the Bureau are not only conscious of these desired changes, but have even experimented with them.

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No. 22

PROPHETS AND PRAGMATISTS

IN the December 14 issue of *PV*, James Richmond Carpenter takes occasion to rejoice over the fact that pacifists have now come down from the level of concern with "moral integrity" into the arena where they will concern themselves on a secular and rational level with making choices between real alternatives and focussing effort on removing the causes of war.

Without impugning his motives in any way, we can assume that as, above all, a consistent rational non-pacifist, Mr. Carpenter would like among other things to have pacifists as ineffective as possible in messing up future choice of the lesser of two evils. And logically some of his joy may come (quite unconsciously, no doubt) from the fact that there are in the trends he applauds elements which may do just that.

First, if pacifists can be weaned away from concern with moral imperatives, personal integrity, and absolutes, into the world where they will take unorthodox stands only when they can justify them on purely secular and rational grounds, then they will be less likely to take the stands at all. Second, if pacifists can be encouraged to concentrate with non-pacifists so exclusively on removing the causes of war that they will forget to refuse to fight, then they won't be in the way either.

Awful Possibility

But, on the other hand, I wonder whether in these trends toward descent from the monastery there are not factors which may make Mr. Carpenter as a consistent non-pacifist quite unhappy. It has not been noticeable, for instance, that political objectors have been less of a nuisance to the non-pacifist in this war than the purely theological ones. While those who wish to focus on "removing the causes" of war are prone to poo-poo the notion that "wars will cease when men refuse to fight," there is always the awful possibility that pacifists might become secular, rational, and political enough to accomplish just that in this country and completely gum up Mr. Carpenter's future choices between real alternatives.

Mr. Carpenter says that pacifists have is-

sued their pronouncements in an intellectual vacuum and have failed to answer the obvious questions of the man on the street. There is no doubt, as the editors say, that part of this has been because we have been confused ourselves, and part because we have been more interested sometimes in being intelligible to ourselves than in getting our ideas into language people can understand. But another part of the story is the fact that the social conditions which make the questions obvious to Joe Doakes also tend to make them, to him, unanswerable no matter how hard and well we try.

Real Alternatives?

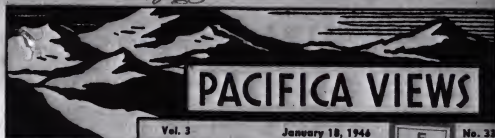
Certain things are obvious to Mr. Carpenter: for example the fact that society is identical with the will of the majority (pacifists have to cut their moorings from society altogether), and that only those alternatives are real which are immediately achievable in terms of existing power ("the necessity of choosing between alternatives seems to be one which pacifists refuse to face").

From these obvious premises he, like the man on the street, will then pose "obvious" questions (such as, maybe, "But didn't the atomic bomb save millions of lives?") And of course the pacifist, because to him these truisms are completely un-obvious, has a little trouble making sense. For there are certain things which to him also are obvious—such as that life has no meaning unless human personality becomes an absolute value—which to Mr. Carpenter are not obvious. It is not entirely obscure to the pacifist's part which makes him better able to understand the non-pacifist than the non-pacifist is able to understand him; all minorities understand the majority better than the majority understands them because they, unlike the majority, necessarily move in both environments.

But back to Mr. Carpenter's premises. Is the pacifist necessarily removing himself from the stream of history in divorcing himself from the course the majority takes? A little historical perspective will tend to confirm the assertion that in the light of the

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No. 33

PACIFISTS AS AGITATORS

AMONG pacifists there is a strong and disturbing sense of frustration, created when they compare their inadequate actions to their ideals and to the sorry situation of the world.

CPS men share this feeling of frustration but with perhaps less of a sense of guilt for, being removed from participation in the general community life, they see little opportunity to act, and therefore little responsibility for acting outside of their immediate camp or hospital situation.

Within this very limited sphere, many CPS men are intended to bring their actions into line with their ideals and the needs of the situation. They have shared, with the soldiers, the experience of living under totalitarian control. Unlike most soldiers they have reacted to this experience by an intensified feeling of personal responsibility. Therefore, they have experimented in group and individual efforts to make government responsible to the governed.

Action by Pacifists

The running battle in camps and prisons for civil liberties and against conscription suggests that we need a new type of pacifist actionist, employing new techniques. Traditionally pacifists have been Saints, like John Woolman, who by personal renunciation and individual extremism, drew attention to evils; Lobbyists; Martyrs. (I omit do-gooders, whose aim is not to abolish but to ameliorate the evils of society.)

I see emerging a new type, who might be labelled the Agitator. Like the previous types, his effectiveness does not depend upon numbers or popular leadership. Pacifist action must accept as given a small number of actionists, and their ability to manipulate ideas rather than persons. Pacifists, that is, are intellectuals; administrators rather than politicians; they influence public opinion indirectly. This is an obvious advantage. By influencing popular leaders, teachers and publicists can be more widely effective, though perhaps less immediately so, than

if they sought to reach the public directly.

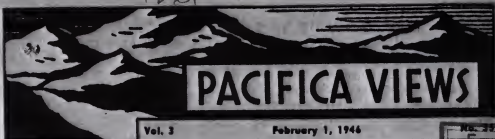
Both teacher and publicist, however, are part of institutions whose purpose of maintaining the status quo is the antithesis of the pacifist aim. They both must study the structure and functioning of their institutions so that they may force these institutions, unconsciously or in spite of themselves, to advance the revolutionary pacifist goal. They must study the antagonistic forces which make up the uneasy balance of the status quo and destroy that balance by setting one force against another.

Perhaps a few illustrations of situations in which the Agitator could work may make my meaning clearer.

1. **Friendship with the "enemy"**—When the German concentration camps were overrun, pro-war publicists and ill-informed newspapermen sent out reams of material blurring the distinction between them and prisoner-of-war camps, and leaving the impression that the concentration camps were designed for and inhabited solely by non-Germans. The Agitator would have had in his files, foreseeing such an eventuality, eyewitness accounts from the camps by German inmates for press release at the opportune moment. Similarly, why did we have to wait for regular press channels to reveal the evils of forced population transfers, starvation diets and brutal treatment of German P.W.'s by the French? Pacifists, with comrades in every country, should have had such information long before. (It should not, however, be used in their own publications where it will be discounted as propaganda, but channeled to the commercial press.)

2. **An united Europe:** When the war began, the Allies were agreed, at least in public, that a United States of Europe would have to come out of the war; somewhere along the line the idea was lost. Pacifists should have kept it alive. The Potsdam condemnation of Germany to a nation of herdsmen is now being modified: pacifists might well have sped the process by publicizing

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Vol. 3

February 1, 1946

No. 32

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ANARCHY, SLIGHTLY LIMITED

EDGAR S. BRIGHTMAN, in his latest letter asking for a definition of the socially necessary limits of freedom, makes it clear that he is talking about the limits in the ideal society, "the realm of freedom," "the kingdom of God." He wishes to discuss "what the social conditions and restraints are under which freedom can possibly exist as a social phenomenon." That is the fundamental problem of our age, or of any age.

Although Mr. Brightman's statement of the problem clearly implies it, we must make clear that there is little point in talking about the limits of freedom until the conditions for freedom have been met. Political freedom means little under an economy of scarcity where economic constraints coerce people however free they may theoretically be to make personal decisions.

There is no use, for example, of talking of the freedom to choose one's job in a society where there is no job; of freedom to accept or reject military service when the military may be the only vocation promising economic security; of freedom to choose one's mate when economic conditions make postponement of marriage often inevitable; of freedom of movement when most people don't have the economic wherewithal to move (classical economic theory rotates around this phony mobility of labor); of freedom of expression when the channels of expression are preempted by vested interests.

Man Imperfect?

Only in an economy of abundance, where the conditions of economic freedom are met, can the problem of political freedom become the fundamental problem. The question is: those conditions having theoretically been met, will man be able to live in a state of self-regulating anarchy, or will man still be so imperfect that complete freedom will not be enough?

Any discussion of freedom must start from the assumption that human personality is the only ultimate end that we can know in an earthly society. Beginning there, I suppose we don't ultimately get much farther

than Mill did: a society cannot, consistent with that goal, infringe upon the personality of the individual, and no individual may infringe upon that of another. But we may be able to make the formula specific in terms of the problems of the 20th century.

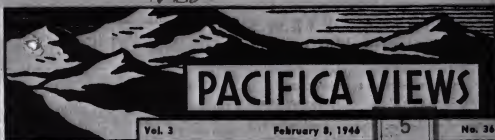
Of first importance is the immunity of the human life itself; this would proscribe capital punishment in any ideal society. Next comes freedom of choice in two of the most crucial life decisions: freedom to choose a vocation and freedom to choose a mate. In several discussions of conscription I have made the point that the immorality of conscription lies essentially in that it assumes that the state knows better than the individual how he can direct his vocational life, i.e., in what social role he can best use his talents. To give the state the right to make this decision is to give it power over some, if not all, of the major life decisions which any personality, to be free, must be free to make. So viewed, conscription includes not only the principle of military conscription but also the regimentation of vocational choices even in a socialist society—the major problem on which socialist thinking, concentrating on the need for common ownership, has until lately failed to focus.

Movement and Residence

Next comes freedom of movement, which would involve the elimination of all the immigration and emigration restrictions, passports, etc., which have Balkanized the world in the last thirty or forty years. In an ideal society there would be no such thing as an alien. Related to this is the freedom to choose one's place of residence.

Finally, any free society must safeguard freedom of expression, which includes the traditional rights of freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, freedom of religious worship, freedom of the press. Here, particularly, we come back to the conditions for freedom, because unless, perhaps through a combination of public and cooperatively owned facilities, everyone is free to hire a hall, or get access to a newspaper or a radio

(Turn to Page 2)



GUIDING STARS AND HIGHWAY MARKERS

FOR pacifists and near-pacifists who are getting out of the army, for men who are getting out of CPS and out of jail, for people everywhere who have been trapped or dragged along by a single-track-war-minded society—for all these people the "margin of freedom" has increased a little bit and the world is a little more flexible. What is called for more than anything else is clear thinking about how this freedom will be used. This thinking should eventuate in individual commitment by each person to some program of action designed to implement his ideals in the area of his special concern, whether it be agriculture, education, business, or politics. However, the response, so far, to Dr. Brightman's questions about our ideals seems to reveal the unfortunate fact that we are not yet sufficiently clear about what we want to achieve to warrant immediate emphasis upon the urgent and tremendously complicated problem of working out programs of action applicable in various areas. Perhaps then some further theoretical discussion will not be totally out of place, although I should readily admit the necessity of getting beyond this kind of discussion.

Freedom and Controls

Consideration of Dr. Brightman's questions about the nature of the ideal society has not gone anywhere partly because it has not been made clear that he has asked at least two different types of questions which require different kinds of answers. When he asks such questions as "What are the limits of freedom?" and "What is the law of an ideal society?" he seems to want to know how far it is possible for human societies to develop in the direction of freedom. He is asking for a blueprint of the best possible society. When he asks about the conditions of "free growth" or about the "conditions and constraints under which freedom can possibly exist as a social phenomenon," I feel that he wants to know not what are the maximum possible achievements, but what are the necessary controls that we should seek to establish in order that, starting from where we are, we will move in the direction of the ideal.

With regard to the first type of question, editorial comment in **PACIFICA VIEWS** (Dec. 28) states that the ideal society is a society in which social control has been replaced by self-restraint, but the question of whether this ideal is possible to realize is neatly sidestepped. Dr. Brightman has not denied that this anarchistic ideal may be of value as a guiding star, and he certainly has not made his theme "the curtailment of liberty"; but he has denied that anarchy is possible, and he wants to think in terms of realizable ideals rather than unrealizable ones. Strictly, then, Dr. Brightman and **PV** have not really disagreed over anything because **PV** has not insisted that anarchy is possible and Dr. Brightman has not insisted that it is irrelevant; but neither have they come to terms with each other. Anarchy is an answer only if it is possible; but it would be a great mistake for this controversy to degenerate into a discussion of why anarchy is or is not possible. We don't know and we can't know whether anarchy is possible or even how close to it we can get because at

(Turn to Page 8)

Food for Europe: Small Scale

Alfred W. Saueracker, 3349 J street, Sacramento 16, Calif., wrote to us regarding the item under this title in the Jan. 4 **PV**:

"I would be very glad to furnish the names and addresses of friends in Europe to whom food parcels might be sent."

Mr. Saueracker was one of the founders of the Austrian section of the War Resisters International. As a writer and editor, he was high on Hitler's list of dangerous people after the seizure of Austria. He came to America after a short stay in England.

Since **PV** does not have the personnel or facilities to undertake a relief program, we suggest that interested readers get in touch with Mr. Saueracker.

Editors, **PV**

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Orlando

SANITARY ENGINEERS
CIVILIAN PUBLIC SERVICE
CAMP 27 F



Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Honorary Chairman
RUFUS M. JONES

Executive Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee

Twenty South Twelfth Street

Philadelphia 7,  Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 9372

September 20, 1945

Dear Friend:

We have just been informed that the Winstead Bill, H. R. 3772, prohibiting the discharge of CPS men under a point system proposed by Selective Service, has been called up on the House calendar. Objection by a North Carolina Congressman has postponed a vote on this measure, but its early consideration seems very likely.

In view of the interest which you have expressed in response to our earlier letter outlining the increasing instances of legal discrimination against C.O.'s, we wonder whether you would be willing immediately to wire your congressman asking him: (1) to watch for the re-introduction of the measure and to register his objection to it, (2) to use his influence with Representative Winstead and others to convince them that the Bill will have very unfortunate and unjust consequences, denying to men who have served their country loyally and legally according to their religious conscience, an opportunity for orderly discharge alongside the men from military service.

Already the introduction of this Bill has been responsible for delaying the discharge of CPS men four months after the beginning of the army's demobilization. Selective Service cannot be expected to act while such a Bill is receiving consideration in Congress.

Will you let us know promptly what response you receive from your congressman so that we may know whether to expect his support.

Very cordially yours,



Clarence E. Pickett
Executive Secretary

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#264

January 13, 1945
Camp Antelope,
Coleville, California

WHISPERS

TO CPS 37

We want to thank the camp for its Christmas letter and to say that we are going to remain in Coleville.

Since the Service Committee understanding was that we contemplated leaving Coleville, we felt it was necessary to contact them before we could feel free to state to you our desire to remain here. A short while ago Lou Schneider wrote that the Service Committee was not averse to our remaining.

We would like to express our deep sense of appreciation for your continued understanding. It has meant a great deal to us to be able to participate in the life of this camp, and we sincerely hope for an even deeper fulfillment for us all in our relationship with one another.

Ben & Wm.

Two watches have been in the CPS warehouse for at least three months. Phil believes they have been here much longer. One is a pocket watch, one dollar type, consisting of a million pieces in an envelope. The other is a Pilgrim wrist watch, busted also-- but worth claiming. It has a gold face band and steel back. As these are not claimed within 30 days of this notice, they will be given to someone of the people who undoubtedly will ask for them between now and then. If the owner shows up later, he at least will have to stand the repair costs to get his watch back.

THE HOW AND WHY OF OUR ELECTRIC POWER

In view of the fact that there are many new men in camp and no doubt some of us older ones who have forgotten or never knew of the set-up concerning our generators and electric power, we give you the following statement.

We have, in the generator house, three Koehler light plants. These plants produce approximately 110 volts of current (D.C.), at a maximum of 32 amperes. Due to the fact that they have an allowance for 10% we may for very short periods of time overload them without any ill effects. However, one generator, last winter, was burned out due to too much of an overload. This entailed a large expense for repairs and caused much restriction on the amount of power available.

In order to avoid another similar experience, we have adopted a system of check up and at such times if a generator is carrying too much of a load the lights are blinked so that you may cooperate by turning out all unnecessary lights. This can also be remedied if each one will turn out his lights upon leaving his station, abode, domicile or what have you.

To have all the lights we need, it is necessary to operate two generators in order to supply the whole camp. The third generator is held as an emergency one in the event that there is any trouble with either of the others.

10-4834-1
10-4834-1

February 10, 1945

COUNSELING SEMINAR: Plans are under way for a short course in lay counseling, by means of individual reading and group discussion. Sometime during the last of March (will be definite soon), those who have been studying the principles and techniques of counseling and personality fulfillment will meet at the Glendora CFS camp for a two-day seminar. The seminar will be led by Dr. D. D. Eitzen of Los Angeles, religious psychiatrist.

There are several reasons for attempting this course of study. One is the insight into one's own personality that such study can give. Another is the importance of understanding what will help and what will hurt when we try to help people with their problems. CFS is not only a good study ground for this, but is a situation in which counselling assistance is often needed -- including lay counselling if done intelligently.

This is a CFS study program, emanating from a group at the Glendora camp. Dr. Eitzen has prepared a list of reading material he thinks best for a lay approach to the subject, which has been mimeographed and attached. The form and frequency of group discussion will evolve after it is known who and how many are interested.

It will be important to know soon how many will be able to participate in the seminar at Glendora in March. Plans now are for at least one car to make the trip. If interested, see Charles Sanders.

VOCATIONAL TESTING AND COUNSELING: arrangements for us to use the complete vocational testing facilities of the University of Nevada have just been completed. Professor Ralph A. Irwin of the university is particularly well-trained in this field and has available to him the best and most recent testing facilities. They are offering these services to us free of charge, except for special tests which may be desired, which will be borne by the AFSC vocational program. Prof. Irwin's time is limited, however, and the plan he has agreed to is as follows:

- 1) A CFS man interested in using any phase of the university's vocational facilities should talk over this interest with the personnel secretary;
- 2) A brief outline of the discussion, together with a brief outline of experience and interests will be sent to Prof. Irwin, and he will either OK the tests selected or recommend others;
- 3) The men taking the tests will travel to Reno by supply truck on Wednesdays, and be tested Wednesday afternoons;
- 4) The following Wednesday the men tested will again go to the university and Prof. Irwin will interpret the results of the tests taken;
- 5) Follow-up interpretations of the tests will be given by the personnel secretary, who will receive information and knowledge of the tests both from Prof. Irwin and from other sources.

The best combination of tests available to us seem to be:

- 1) A general aptitude or intelligence test.
- 2) A measure of specific aptitudes the individual believes he has. Tests are available in the fields of mathematics, physics, chemistry, general science, foreign languages, English, ability to sell, mechanical comprehension, reading comprehension, clerical aptitude, etc. There are not adequate tests available for the fields of law, business, or journalism.
- 3) A measure of interests. -- Many of us have taken the Strong Vocational Interest test, and as you know, the personnel secretary administers that test when anyone requests it. However, Prof. Irwin uses the Kuder Preference Record as it

W. C. Irwin

A
Camp Antelope
March 28, 1945

WHISPERS

CPS 37

NOMINATIONS FOR WORK JERK: The term of the present Work Jerk expires at the end of March. Plans for spring and summer spike camps, as well as routine work assignments, call for a large amount of work on the part of the Work Jerk. In order that the new Work Jerk may be elected early in April nominations should be submitted now. Please send them to Claude Lewis, Camp Clerk, at Antelope.

The new Work Jerk will probably attend a conference on project education to be held at the Camino CPS camp near Placerville, on April 19, 20, and 21st.

APPLICATIONS FOR FURLOUGH: All men desiring furlough between now and June 15th (fire season) should submit completed applications to Morgan Smedley as soon as possible. This will facilitate an arrangement of the furlough schedule most suitable to the greatest number of people. SEND THEM IN NOW. SEND THEM IN NOW. SEND THEM IN NOW.

IN DESCRIBING CIVILIAN PUBLIC SERVICE Selective Service has said, "The program is being developed and carried on to do work of value and importance to the nation as decided by the Director. It is not for the education or development of assignees, to train individuals or groups for future activities in the post-war period, or for the furtherance of any particular movement, except as may coincide with a planned government program. There is no obligation to provide a man with work for which he has been especially prepared, wishes to do, or regards as socially significant. On the other hand, an effort is made to profitably employ the special skills or training of various individuals to the limit afforded by the various projects."

In spite of this basic disavowment of all responsibility to use conscripted conscientious objectors in socially significant work, Selective Service does recognize the value of education and job training and general orientation within the fields of work to which CPS men have in fact been assigned. The following statements are taken from Administrative Directive No. 17 which pertains to Project Orientation and Education:

".....on the job training.... is the responsibility and duty of the Project Superintendent. This provision is not changed but it is believed that on-the-job training may be extended to include a wider field of instruction than that necessary to perform a particular job or to operate a certain piece of equipment.

"Orientation is information covering the relationship of the various jobs to the work project and the overall program of the Technical Agency.... (The Project Superintendent) may devote not more than one hour per week or its equivalent of project work time to such instruction. Attendance at these meetings is mandatory on the part of assignees released to the work project.....

".... unless other methods have been adopted by the Technical Agency, it is recommended..... (a) that after consultation with the Director, the Superintendent select an assignee who is capable of organizing a project training program.. (b) that he be carried as part of the project overhead and devote part or all of his project time to the above duties...." (In general the duties referred to are project orientation for new assignees, job training program, general training and information concerning projects and technical agency (Forest Service), movies arranging instruction and discussion by qualified persons.

Partly as a result of the Project Review which was made last fall, the Reno Office has expressed a desire to cooperate with us in a program of Project Education as outlined in this directive. They have already done so by providing Forest Service movies and there is good reason to believe that this cooperation will continue and expand if we are sufficiently interested to utilize the provisions made in this directive.

It is entirely possible that this program could be developed by the Work Jerk who would consider it as a part of his regular duties.

Camp Antelope
May 9, 1945

WHISPERS



CPS 37
Coleville, California

THE EXPECTED INFUX of men from Big Flats, Cooperstown, and Getlinburg will reach a peak near the end of May when a carload of men will arrive in Coleville. Before that, and possibly after that date, men who are travelling by themselves will arrive from the eastern camps. One or two more new assignees are scheduled to arrive before fire season. These newcomers, plus the men already here, minus the few who will receive transfers out before fire season, will probably bring the camp strength up to nearly 175 -- where it will remain throughout the summer.

FIRE SCHOOL will be held in Antelope on May 17th and 18th. Forest Service men, Grazing Service men and men belonging to other fire fighting agencies throughout Nevada will be trained in fire fighting procedures and in handling fire crews. CPS men will serve as demonstration crews. About forty men are expected to attend the training sessions. They will arrive in camp on the evening of May 16th.

REVIEW OF POSITIONS: The Personnel Committee will shortly review the positions of Assistant Director, Personnel Secretary, and Educational Secretary. Recommendations concerning what these jobs are or ought to be, and who should have them, will be gladly received by the Personnel Committee. Likewise, WHISPERS will be glad to present to the camp the opinion of any individual concerning these positions. At present Dave Newhall is Assistant Director, Charles Sanders is Personnel Secretary, and Norman Rich is Educational Secretary. There will be more details on this later.

PHILADELPHIA REPRESENTATIVE: Morgan Smadley has not felt it worthwhile to attend any of the last four meetings of the CPS Executive Committee in Philadelphia. The main reason seems to be a lack of formulated opinion in this camp as to what should be said in Philadelphia. Achievement of direction and clarity here is more important than muddled representation in Philadelphia. Hence, at present, no representation in Philadelphia. Persons who think this is an unfair statement or who desire a change in the status quo or who have any other ideas bearing upon representation of Coleville in Philadelphia should speak up.

RECENT TRANSFERS out of Coleville are Donald Himes to Lapina; Marvin Shapiro to Glendora; Julius Bodnarz to Glendora (rescued from Ruby Valley crew; quote: "It wasn't so bad."); Homer LeVally to Owings Mills, Maryland; Donald Dankart to Ponnhurst; and Julius Mock to Lapina. Frank Dixon's transfer to Warren was authorized but he was unable to accept it. According to the best information we have, transfers have not yet been frozen. Snakejumper selections for the group to begin training on June 4th have not yet been made.

RECENT ARRIVALS: New assignees in camp are Karey Starnor, from Brawley, California; and Elton Castille, from Los Angeles, California. Seven more dogs were born into the conscripted life a few days ago when Fifi's litter arrived. Whether the father is Rattler or Bozo is not yet quite clear, but neither one seems particularly concerned. Two lambs, brought to Antelope from Wellington, are now sponging their time cropping grass around camp. Three pigs, recently purchased, are rapidly gaining weight by eating the most appetizing portions of the camp garbage.

GUEST SPACE: Wes Russ says that "it is anticipated that we will soon have a two-room cabin to supplement our one available guest room at Antelope. Requests for guest housing should be made to Wes Russ well enough in advance to eliminate conflicts of dates of stay. We invite guests up to the limit of the facilities. Service Committee policy limits the stay of guests to two weeks except under unusual circumstances. It is expected that guests will contribute toward their food and lodging at the rate of 25¢ per meal and 25¢ per night whenever possible." The new cabin referred to is to be built in back of the Hacienda; construction will be similar to the cabins which have been built at the saw mill for the Forest Service.

DESCRIPTION OF "BUTCH" (attributed to Jim Clark): Half coyote, half sagebrush.

San Jose, Costa Rica
July 11, 1950

July 11, 1950

12-00000-00000

San Jose, Costa Rica

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR

The Director of the Costa Rican Bureau of Education, under the supervision and guidance of the United States Bureau of Education, has the honor to report on the results of the work of the Bureau during the year 1949-1950. The Bureau has been organized to carry out the program of the United States Bureau of Education in Costa Rica, and to provide for the education of the children of the Costa Rican people. The Bureau has been organized to carry out the program of the United States Bureau of Education in Costa Rica, and to provide for the education of the children of the Costa Rican people. The Bureau has been organized to carry out the program of the United States Bureau of Education in Costa Rica, and to provide for the education of the children of the Costa Rican people.

At all times, the Bureau has been in close contact with the Ministry of Education, and has been able to secure the necessary cooperation and assistance for the carrying out of its program. The Bureau has been able to secure the necessary cooperation and assistance for the carrying out of its program. The Bureau has been able to secure the necessary cooperation and assistance for the carrying out of its program. The Bureau has been able to secure the necessary cooperation and assistance for the carrying out of its program.

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Summary of Results

In the Field of Education

The work of the Bureau in the field of education has been carried out in accordance with the program of the United States Bureau of Education. The Bureau has been able to secure the necessary cooperation and assistance for the carrying out of its program. The Bureau has been able to secure the necessary cooperation and assistance for the carrying out of its program.

The Bureau has been able to secure the necessary cooperation and assistance for the carrying out of its program. The Bureau has been able to secure the necessary cooperation and assistance for the carrying out of its program. The Bureau has been able to secure the necessary cooperation and assistance for the carrying out of its program. The Bureau has been able to secure the necessary cooperation and assistance for the carrying out of its program.

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The job of the Bureau is primarily an administrative job, with the additional responsibility of being a liaison between the United States Bureau of Education and the Costa Rican Ministry of Education. The Bureau has been able to secure the necessary cooperation and assistance for the carrying out of its program.

THE NEW ARRIVAL SITUATION has developed far beyond the ability of Whispers to report in this issue. Before transfers from the east began arriving by the carload, two new assignees came into camp: Bill Fortman, brother of Bob who was formerly in this camp, from Los Angeles; and Jack Leath, from San Bernardino. Arthur Moffett, Jay Sato, and Bill Young arrived from Big Flats slightly before the main body of western migrants. Suffice it to say that camp strength all of a sudden jumped from about 115 to 170. We will try to account for everyone by putting out a roster in the near future. For the present -- WELCOME TO COLEVILLE. Rumor has it that ten years from now this spot will be known as the "blessed community" so don't make up your minds about it too quickly.

THE DEAD ARE COMING BACK AGAIN! Hank Swain follows Brian O'Neil and Joe Coffin on the list of men who were once transferred out but couldn't stay away.

DEMILITARIZATION OF CIVILIAN PUBLIC SERVICE is still a subject for happy speculation rather than realistic calculation. Colonel McLean, who spent a couple of days in Coleville just before Fire School, had no official information to disclose, although he offered the unofficial hope that he would not have to be visiting us too many more times. The only concrete information seems to be that men who are 42 years of age or older are dischargeable immediately as soon as certain medical information concerning them is presented to Selective Service. Guy Marks is the only Coleville man who stands to profit by this order. Around noon on Saturday Earle Edwards received a telegram from Adrian Gory saying that Selective Service had announced the point basis for releasing CPS men: 1 point for each month of service, 12 points for each child, and 3 points for a wife. A little later Ted Adams called in from Wellington saying that he had heard over the radio that due to public pressure General Hershey had made a second announcement, this time to the effect that CPS men would not be demobilized as was announced earlier. You guess it is good as the next man's about where we go from here. Further information will probably be given out fairly soon. At the moment this vague and possibly incorrect information is all we have to go on.

A SWIMMING POOL has been scooped out by a cat a little below the camp vegetable garden. So far it appears to be a successful experiment. If the water supply holds out through the summer, and if the pool doesn't leak we will have a permanent attraction to offer.

VISITORS: Earle Edwards from the Philadelphia office is in Coleville this week after spending a couple of days at Olyube and Tidewild. Among other things, he is looking for persons interested in going to the malaria guinea pig experiment. Lou Schneider, also from Philadelphia, is expected to arrive in Antelope on Tuesday, May 29.

TRANSFERS OUT of CPS 32 have been approved for Francis Pyle to Wooster, Ohio; George Effersoff to Glendora; Don Laughlin to Glendora; Hugh Hammond to Stockley, Delaware; Francesco Bucanasa to Glendora. Brian O'Neil, Bill Weber, Jim Bruff, and Al Rodman have been selected for stock workers at Missoula, Montana. Official Selective Service authorization of these transfers is expected soon.

WALKOUT: Nathan Whittlesby has walked out of CPS. Upon being asked why he was leaving he said that he had reached a point where he could no longer cooperate with conscription because conscription does not work for the good of the people.

THE PENNSYLVANIA JERSEY CATTLE CLUB has gone on record as opposed to peace time conscription. Have you? Hearings on this legislation are going to be carried on in Congress between June 4th and 16th. This may be your last practical chance to put your two bits worth into the future of the United States. There is plenty of anti-conscription material available in the CPS office. It is free for the taking, if you will make use of it.

BLISS HAYNES, former Project Superintendent at Coleville, is to be Project Superintendent and Camp Director, or so the rumor goes, at the new government camp at Weaver, California. This camp is composed mainly of men transferred from Gormak which is closing.

Camp Antelope
June 9, 1945

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WHISPERS

For Antelope and
the spikes, CFS 37

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RUMORS ABOUT DEMOBILIZATION beginning with vague radio announcements and developing into statements from Philadelphia and notices in the Reporter and Information, have been progressively tied down to solid fact. The latest fact is Administrative Directive No. 24 from the Camp Operations Division of Selective Service. Its subject is "Plan for Partial Demobilization of Conscientious Objectors in Civilian Public Service Camps." Following are the essential portions of this directive:

"No complete demobilization of any civilian public service unit is contemplated at present. The effective date for the determination of credits mentioned hereinafter will be midnight of May 12-13, 1945. Credits will be computed on the basis of information contained on an Adjusted Service Rating Card and such other information as may be available and needed to form the basis of a determination. Credits will be based upon the following and accorded for the items named hereinafter: (a) one credit for each month service or major fraction thereof in a civilian public service camp; (b) twelve credits for each child under 18 and in being prior to the date specified hereinbefore; (c) three credits for wife, provided marriage status was assumed prior to date mentioned heretofore. Deducted from the accumulated total rating.... will be (a) one credit for each day AWOL; (b) one credit for each day of refusal to work. No assignee will be eligible for consideration unless prior to May 12, 1945, he had completed one full year in a civilian public service camp. An assignee who has served in excess of the prescribed period and desires to apply for release will have supplied to him by his camp director an Adjusted Service Rating Card.... In all cases the essentiality of an assignee will be decided by this Headquarters. Assignees who will be permitted to receive consideration for discharge must be determined to be surplus to the operation of civilian public service camps, and this surplus shall be based primarily upon essentiality of the service of the individual to work of national importance. In the event individual essentiality is questioned the determination will be based upon replaceability. This is to be interpreted to mean that an assignee who otherwise has sufficient credit for discharge whose services are essential to the project upon which he is serving will be discharged when a suitable replacement is furnished..... Executed Adjusted Service Rating Cards will be returned so as to be received in this Headquarters by July 1, 1945. It is contemplated that proper consideration of cases of these men will require approximately thirty days. The first discharges as a result of the operation of this plan should occur during the month of August, 1945. No minimum number of credits for discharge will be announced at this time. It now appears that those men possessing total credits in the 850 highest ratings will be released. Discharges will be scheduled throughout one year. Men will be released in the order of priority of established credits unless their release is postponed by essentiality of assignment. Only those men who obviously come within the provisions of this plan need apply. Conscientious objectors whose cases have been favorably acted upon will be ordered from the camp in which they are serving to return to their homes by way of a designated U.S. Army Separation Center where a terminal physical examination will be required....."

The ADJUSTED SERVICE RATING CARDS referred to in this directive have not yet arrived in camp. The policy stated concerning essential men who are otherwise eligible for discharge appears to be in line with the present policy concerning transfers for key men. Penalties for RTWs and AWOLs were included over the strong protest of the AFSC.

RESULTS OF WORK JERK ELECTION: Wilson Myers was elected Work Jerk to succeed Corny Stoelink whose transfer to Coshocton has been authorized. Charles Chrisman ran a close second. Approximately 65% of the entire camp voted in this election. Myers is at present at Glover Valley. He will take over the job when he returns to Antelope, but no one is sure yet when that will be.

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Camp Antelope -U
June 20, 1945 -A

Camp Antelope
La Spikes, CPS 37

THERE HAVE BEEN SOME CHANGES MADE at Antelope. A new position of Business Manager has been created and Wes Russ appointed Charles Sanders to fill it. The business manager is responsible for overseeing all buying, accounting, property, maintenance, inventory, overhead, rationing, etc. for CPS 37. Ralph Durgin finally succeeded in going on project. Walker Sundbach is assisting Sanders with the buying for the camp and with handling spike camp food orders, cutting meat, taking care of the food warehouse, etc. The etc.s are for alot of wretched little details that go with this sort of work and to which Charlie and Walker have fallen heir. Austin Shank was selected by the Work Committee to replace Morgan Smadley as CPS secretary. The Assistant Director has been made responsible for the major part of the work involved in running the office; this now includes handling furlough applications and issuing furlough papers. Sandy Master is assisting Hal Ziegler with the work of the Forest Service Clerk.

THERE WILL BE SOME CHANGES MADE: The personnel committee handling the current elections for Assistant Director, Personnel Secretary, and Educational Secretary has requested each candidate to submit a statement of his conception of the job he is running for and an account of his qualifications for it. Further information will be presented to the camp by the committee sometime soon..... Unofficially as yet, four men have been nominated for Philadelphia Representative. They are Hal Ziegler, Hank Swain, Jack Sloan, and Milton Gordon. Those nominations have not been confirmed, and other nominations will probably be made. Further information on this election will be forthcoming soon..... Wilson Myers, recently elected Work Jerk, has not yet returned from Clover Valley, but rumor has it that the work there is nearing completion and part of that crew will be returning to Antelope. When he returns he will take over the job immediately since Corny Steelink has been transferred to Coshocton.

DEMOBILIZATION: Selective Service Adjusted Rating Cards have been received and distributed to all men who had completed a year of service (anyhow, a year) in CPS by May 12, 1945. These cards will be returned to Selective Service before the end of the month, and then there will be a period of waiting and praying for further information and action. A memorandum from Paul Furnas, dated June 8, refers to the opposition developing in Congress over the demobilization of conscientious objectors. The main point is that there is no demobilization at present from the Navy, Marines, and Coast Guard, and that demobilization of C.O.s should not commence until all branches of the armed forces are also demobilizing. Furnas says, "We have no judgment as to how they (Selective Service) will stand up under the opposition. However, if changes should be made in the plan, which I do not think is clearly indicated now, all men should keep in mind that any changes in the formula will be of comparatively less importance so long as Selective Service maintains the theory that men in CPS can be discharged in the same ratio as men from the military services..... it should be kept in mind that experience shows that the results of such agitation as is at present being stirred up against demobilization of C.O.s is less general than appears on the surface."

GUY MARKS, age 45, was discharged from Civilian Public Service on June 19, 1945 after two years, six months, and seventeen days of service.

IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION concerning the use to be made of the material submitted to the AFSC Committee on Projects and Incentives, Bernard Waring (member of the committee) writes, "When the reports have come in, the committee will then prepare its report including recommendations of the changes which it feels should be made. If the CPS Committee approves of these recommendations, they will then be taken to the technical agency concerned. Furthermore, in the process of making such a study each camp will see clearly those points at which improvement can be made on the local level and then the camp staff can proceed to deal with the project superintendent in negotiating correction of such practices as need improvement. However, should the staffs fail to achieve such a correction we shall want a report to the effect that it has been attempted locally and has failed. Until thorough efforts have been made in the individual camp the Service Committee is not in a position to secure redress

Camp Antelope
The Fourth of July, 1945

WHISPERS



For Antelope and
the Spikes, CPS 37

THE DEMOBILIZATION PICTURE: The National Service Board has tabulated point totals for almost exactly 90% of the total number of men in CPS. Their calculations do not take into account AWOLs and RTWs which will reduce the number of points credited to some men, nor do they take account of men who may be discharged in the coming year for reasons of age, medical condition, dependency, etc. and thus removed from the 850 men who are expected to be released purely on the basis of points. However, the NSB feels that the following point totals will come pretty close to the official tabulation which will be made by Selective Service:

<u>Number of Points</u>	<u>Number of Men</u>	<u>Cumulative Total</u>
70 or more	15	15
60 to 69	74	89
55-59	104	193
50-54	211	404
49	85	489
48	95	584
47	162	746
46	155	901
45	145	1046

The NSB concludes that, "It appears from the tabulation that the critical number of points which will permit the discharge of the 850th assignee will be somewhere in the range of 45-47 points. It is highly improbable that any assignee with less than 45 points will be released in the first group of 850 men under the point system."

The NSB also issued the following interesting miscellaneous information: "Of the 7600 men (who were checked) 5908 had served one year in CPS before midnight May 12-13, 1945, and were thus eligible to file Adjusted Rating Cards. 1599 of these entered during the first year of operation, which began May 15, 1941; 2728 entered during the second year; and 1531 during the third. On May 12, 1945, 3560 of these men were single, 1516 married with no children, 676 with one child, 124 with two children, 24 with three children, 5 with four children, and 3 with five children. Of the eligible men with 50 or more points, 32 had 3 or more children, 79 had 2 children, 226 had one child, and 58 were married but had no children. The maximum number of points possible for a single man is 48. The highest number of points tabulated in the first 90% was 83, held by a man who entered CPS in September 1941 and has three children, but it is believed there are some men with higher points among those not yet tabulated."

THE SPREAD OF POINTS IN CPS 37, counting only those men who were entitled to submit Adjusted Rating Cards is:

55-60 points	1 man	30-34 points	14 men
50-54 points	1 man	25-29 points	24 men
45-49 points	5 men	20-24 points	20 men
40-44 points	2 men	15-19 points	7 men
35-39 points	11 men	10-14 points	8 men

MEN OVER FORTY may now be discharged from CPS regardless of the number of points they have. Upon receipt of a written application for discharge (which should be sent first to the Camp Director), plus a statement by the Project Superintendent indicating when the man may be separated from the project, Selective Service will consider the release of men who have reached the age of forty years. When applications have been received and approved Selective Service will make arrangements for a final type physical examination, probably similar to the examination given to men discharged under the point system. This type of discharge is a continuing process. Any man who attains the age of forty is immediately eligible to apply. He should

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Camp Antelope
July 17, 1945

WHISPERS

For Antelope and
the Spikes, CPS 37

PARTIAL ELECTION RESULTS (announced by the Election Committee): Votes have not been received from Santa Rosa or Paradise Valley, presumably because of delay in the mail. Therefore, total election results are not known. However, for several reasons, it was deemed necessary to announce the results in those cases where a candidate had a majority that could not be overcome by the votes from these two crews. The Election Committee has counted the votes already in and has found that except for the position of Assistant Director all offices have a candidate with enough of a lead to guarantee his election. These are: for Educational Secretary, Norman Rich; for Personnel Secretary, Paul Steward; for Philadelphia Representative, Harold Ziegler.

As soon as the Election Committee has received all the ballots the complete returns will be announced.

DEMobilIZATION: There is nothing to say about demobilization right now except that nothing definite or conclusive seems to have happened in the past two weeks. On the indefinite side there is the information that the Winstead Bill which would require CPS men to have 85 points before discharge was approved by the House Military Affairs Committee, and then this approval was withdrawn until the matter could be discussed with Selective Service. Apparently there is growing opposition to CPS demobilization but so far Selective Service has not announced any change in its demobilization policy as stated in Administrative Directive No. 24. See Paul Conly French's Newsletter No. 123, July 7, for some additional details, and also the July 1 Reporter.

CHESS: Stanley Jackson and Phil Wickes are interested in finding out if there is anyone else in camp who enjoys playing chess. If anyone wants a game please get in touch with them.

PEACETIME CONSCRIPTION: One of the advocates of universal military training in peacetime came through with the following brilliant statement during the recent Congressional hearings: "Universal military training will teach the rising generation that while patriotism is not enough, it is something -- something glorious, something divine." The testimony of the labor groups was undoubtedly one of the strongest factors in delaying legislative action. Here is one sentence from the testimony of Nathan Cowan, legislative chairman of the CIO: "Action now would be an invitation to all the nations of the world to follow in our footsteps, and would mean the death of the ideals which the United Nations have professed to be fighting for...." One may guess that there will be a lull in overt activity for a few months, and then the forces determined to hang peacetime conscription on the United States will be at it again. In 1944 the national convention of the American Legion decided that in the coming year its legislative activity would be chiefly directed toward the passage of a federal law establishing compulsory military training. There is no reason to believe that the Legion and other like-minded groups have changed their attitude or lessened their determination.

NEW ARRIVALS: Most recent arrival in CPS 37 is Gobert Macbeth from Los Angeles. He arrived on July 5, after having been ordered to report to his local draft board for induction on the preceding day -- Independence Day.

NEW PERSONNEL SECRETARY STARTS WITH SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA DEMobilIZATION MEETING: Paul Steward leaves Toiyabo this weekend to attend the Southern California Committee on CPS Demobilization meeting on July 23. Gordon Aldarfer of the NSERO, head of their demobilization program, will meet with the committee to help with suggestions to assist planning for aids to demobilized CPS men. The subjects to be discussed are loan funds, employment aids and contacts, temporary housing for CPS men demobilized but not yet settled, and possibilities of group-community attempts by CPS families.

TRANSFERS OUT OF CPS 37: Absolutely none.

FILE

4.
 Coleville, California
 August 15, 1945

W H I S P E R S

For Antelope and
 the Spikes, CPS 37

HAROLD ZIEGLER, Philadelphia Representative for CPS 37, has been asked to serve as Interim Representative through the September 28th meeting of the CPS Executive Committee. Wes Huss, Ralph Reed, and the men in Antelope approved of his staying in Philadelphia, and there seemed little doubt that the men in spike camps would do the same. Accordingly, Hal will be working in the Philadelphia office of the AFSC for the next six weeks.

AL JONES is now handling transfers, and all questions concerning them should be sent to him. The camp has received a book corresponding to the AFSC Pink Book which describes the Brethren Special Service Units. Men who are interested in Brethren Units can learn about them by asking Al for information from this book.

STATEMENT FROM WILSON MYERS: On April 11, 1945 the policy of the Work Committee was determined by the camp by selecting one of three policies suggested on the ballot. The choice of the camp was overwhelmingly as follows:

"The function of the Work Jerk and Work Committee is to cooperate with the Forest Service and Camp Director in making work assignments, accepting authority to make assignments whenever that authority is given them, and attempting to act in such a way as to increase the confidence of the Forest Service, Camp Director, and campers, so that this authority will increase in ultimacy and expand to include a greater and greater number of positions in camp. In situations where the authority to place a man has not been clearly delegated to the Work Committee, the Committee should be 'on the ball' with regard to all placements in the hope that through useful service it will be given more and more freedom of action."

Although this would seem to suggest what the 'spirit' of the Work Committee should be, it leaves a good many practical problems unanswered. When this question was raised at the recent camp meeting, it was decided that clarification of Work Committee policy should be undertaken by the committee itself, and the results submitted to the camp for approval. A few of the questions to be considered are:

- 1) Should a definite policy guide the work committee, or should it use 'common sense'. (This is perhaps a choice between the clarity of definition and the freedom of ambiguity.)
- 2) Should the committee ever take a 'definite stand' on any matter or should it limit itself to suggestion.
- 3) Besides its generally recognized responsibility for making job placements should the committee concern itself with work standards, with project improvement, or with safety and project education.
- 4) What are the relationships between the Work Jerk, the Work Committee, the Camp Director, the Project Superintendent, and the camp in general.
- 5) Should members of the Work Committee make decisions by using their own 'personal' judgments (assuming that members were elected because the camp respects their judgment), or should a committee member try to express what he believes to be the camp opinion on each issue.

WICKES, THE WAREHOUSEMAN SPEAKS AGAIN: The warehouse has a fund called petty cash. This money is used in connection with the town trips. On Tuesdays and Saturdays a trip starts at 8:30 AM for Gardnerville and Minden. The Saturday trip also stops at Markleeville, and possibly once in a while at Wellington. So far as I gather, the Wellington stop is not scheduled, so don't count on it. Gardnerville and Minden are very small towns; boast of one picture house, a five and ten, a general store, and a

Apr 15 1946
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COOL TEMPERATURE DOWN

Dissension replaced unity in camp this week. The broad possibility of unity remained; but it was obvious that developments in the Chicago conference case had eliminated this instance as the moment for a united stand immediately. A wave of support for putting off the conference again, from its new meeting time next week, reached such proportions that by middle of the week Lloyd Estes, the Government Responsibility Group's representative from this camp, posted an offer to have the camp retract its recent endorsement of pending him. Even without such a meeting, it was apparent that the bulk of the men wanted postponement until negotiations were exhausted.

Perhaps the biggest shock to the conference plans was the reading of a statement by Camp Chairman Jim Seeger early in the week. After deliberation, Jim said he had concluded that while he had supported it the previous week he would no longer support the protest of the conference ban. Pointing out that there is a perspective in which all things must be appraised, Jim said he did not attach his "highest loyalty" even to freedom. A nother blow was given the conference-immediately plan by Len Kenworthy. He said in a short talk that while he still felt the men had a right to hold the conference he thought they should weigh most carefully the potential effects on the bulk of assignees. Within the Government Responsibility Group itself, there was marked division over the timing. Some of the better-known members disagreed with Rex Corfman; Estes, while indicating that he would attend the conference whenever held, said he personally preferred to have it delayed until the outcome of negotiations by the AFSC and NSR, and Bob Levin, second choice for representative, said he would not attend the conference.

Corfman's point was clear. At an open meeting early in the week, he said that this was the most decisive time to act in the history of CPS to date; no one at the meeting of pacifist and liberal leaders in N.Y. had suggested a postponement longer than two weeks, he said, and the legal issue had been clarified by the report that rather than a hasty judgment the Hershey order was admittedly by its author a well-considered act. A leading surprise of the week was the determination of Bill Vickrey to go through with his plans to attend the conference despite the status of negotiation. Bill felt strongly that the men had a right to meet without receiving the sanction of external authority. As a likely figure, it was estimated that five men from this camp might go to the conference if it were held as re-scheduled.

Ramifications of the delegation's departure might be disrupting, if talk in camp was any criterion. Two men were drawing up a plan for going RTW if selective service apprehends the delegates.

AWOL EPIDEMIC

Psychological bedlam in camp was not reduced this week by news that five men had gone AWOL. Actually, the news was not so revolutionary. All had prematurely departed pending decisions of the armed services. Ed Achenbach and Lou Collison were, in unprecedented speed, reclassified I-A by mid-week; Vincil Stein is accepting foreign construction work for the Navy; Lou Pardes applied for I-A; Pres West is awaiting the outcome of a I-A physical examination.

WORLD NEWS SKETCH

The pendulum of liberalism swung uneasily in the balance this week. Henry Fringle, OWI's chief writer, resigned charging the public wasn't getting the facts; the Farm Security Administration was discontinued by the House Appropriations Committee; de Gaulle spurned an assistantship to Giraud, requesting equality; several English weeklies, including The New Statesman, lashed at the U.S. for daylight bombings in Occupied Countries, claiming they were turning civilians against the United Nations; at a Japanese Relocation Centre an internee was shot to death when reportedly caught crawling through a fence.

For CO's one piece of hopeful news was that Arthur Garfield Hays might take a hand in the Butcher case. The general situation threatened to become more tense as report came that possibility of Japanese invasion of Australia was increasing.